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ABSTRACT

This document discusses the parent-adolescent relationship as social capital for adulthood. The first chapter reviews results of empirical studies which addressed the question of how the parent-adolescent relationship contributes to the successful transition of adolescents into adult society. The review is grounded in studies of parent-adolescent relationships in well-functioning families of middle socioeconomic status. The results are then used as the framework for assessing other factors which bear on contemporary youths' transition into adulthood. The second chapter discusses divorce and its effects on such areas as family income, parent-adolescent relationships, stepparents, educational achievement, psychosocial well-being, heterosexual relationships, and maternal employment. The third chapter discusses career development from a framework based on three sets of factors which are important for work and career development, i.e., psychological factors, social-structural factors, and family factors. The final chapter reviews studies regarding peer relationships with regard to the question of whether they counter or extend parent-adolescent relationships. The popular view of a unitary youth culture with separate values from adult culture is rejected. This chapter contends that the friendships children establish are healthy and need not be competitive in terms of affection or value orientation. The conclusions section discusses factors that either undermine or support the mutuality of adolescent-parent relationships that assists youth in passing on the worthwhile traditions of the social order. Two commentaries on the document are included. (ABL)

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Mutuality in Parent-Adolescent Relationships

by
James Youniss

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Youth and America's Future:
The William T. Grant Foundation Commission on Work, Family and Citizenship

YOUTH AND AMERICA'S FUTURE:
THE WILLIAM T. GRANT FOUNDATION COMMISSION ON WORK, FAMILY AND CITIZENSHIP

When William Thomas Grant established the Grant Foundation in 1936, he sought a better understanding of the ways in which individuals adapt to the vicissitudes of life. Touched in his professional life by the importance of good human relationships, Mr. Grant wished to "help children develop what is in them" so they would better "enjoy all the good things the world has to offer them."

Fifty years later, recognizing the special needs of older adolescents in our changing society, the Foundation's Trustees established **Youth and America's Future** with much the same purpose; its charge is to evaluate current knowledge, stimulate new ideas, increase communication among researchers, practitioners and policymakers, and, thus, to help our nation chart a better future for youth.

The Foundation's President, Robert J. Haggerty, M.D., has described the Commission's unique perspective:

"Against a rising chorus of legitimate concern about the many problems facing today's youth, the Foundation has initiated this Commission on Youth and America's Future to speak in a different voice. It will explore the strengths of America's young men and women, their families and the programs and community institutions that serve them. We adopt this approach not to diminish the importance of the problems that exist, but to learn the lessons of success. The Foundation is confident that this effort to look with renewed respect at youth, where it strides as well as where it stumbles, will help forge the links of understanding and mutual responsibility that make our democracy strong."

The publications in this series have been prepared to inform the Commission and to stimulate its thinking. While the Commission does not necessarily endorse the various findings presented, it does encourage their thoughtful consideration in the interests of American youth.

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MUTUALITY IN PARENT-ADOLESCENT RELATIONSHIPS: SOCIAL CAPITAL FOR IMPENDING ADULTHOOD

James Youniss

with commentaries by

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April 1988

MUTUALITY IN PARENT-ADOLESCENT RELATIONSHIPS: SOCIAL CAPITAL FOR IMPENDING ADULTHOOD

James Youniss

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MUTUALITY IN PARENT-ADOLESCENT RELATIONSHIPS: SOCIAL CAPITAL FOR IMPENDING ADULTHOOD

James Youniss

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Empirical research was reviewed to assess whether and how contemporary parent-adolescent relationships provide social capital for youths' transition to adult society. It was initially established that these relationships typically convey capital through emotional closeness, discursive communication, and enforcement of norms which produce mutual understanding and respect between the generations. These data served as a basis for assessing the capital-producing function in adolescents whose parents have divorced, with regard to the impending labor opportunities for youths, and for evaluating contemporary peer relationships. Divorce. First, key demographic facts were: custodial mothers typically suffer serious loss in income after divorce; adolescents incur life event stressors as a consequence of income loss; and the majority of women, who divorce in their 30s, remarry; thus, adolescents typically experience relationship with stepparents. After divorce, closeness to mothers remains while adolescents often feel distant and resentful toward fathers. Communication with fathers frequently is reduced and mutual understanding is drastically reduced. Some studies indicate that sons' schooling and academic achievement suffer; however, gaining stepfathers may be compensatory for males. Males sometimes manifest "externalizing" symptoms which take the form of conduct problems that qualify as delinquency. Daughters more likely show "internalizing" symptoms (e.g., depression), but they manifest overt difficulties in heterosexual relationships and have pessimistic views toward marriage. Daughters do not as a rule show benefits from having stepfathers. On the other hand, daughters show progressive work attitudes and career aspirations when their divorced mothers work to support the family. Longitudinal studies indicate that young adults recall the experience of divorce with sadness and resentment and that effects on male and female career paths, although different, persist into early adulthood.

Divorce may interfere with adolescents' acquisition of social capital in several ways. The most obvious problems stem from distancing between adolescents and their biological fathers and conflict between adolescent daughters and stepfathers. If men have valuable experiences and knowledge about society, divorce may deter sharing them with adolescents. On the other hand, females seem to gain practical knowledge about work from their mothers, whose socialization strategies after they experience divorce, are probably reoriented toward preparing daughters for self-protecting careers. Almost all reviewers of research in this area have observed that divorce, per se, is not a sure predictor of adolescent behavior. Diversity in income loss, change of residence, new relationships with stepparents, and the like, can exacerbate or ameliorate effects on adolescents' development. The challenge for future research is get behind divorce as a status to analysis of processes which co-occur with divorce but operate more generally in development.

Career Development. Reviews of work and career development were centered on demographic and economic context factors. About 20% of the current population under age 19 is comprised of white males. Secondly, availability of jobs is shifting across sectors; manufacturing jobs are rapidly declining while jobs in the service sector are increasing. World market forces and technological innovation are at the center of the ongoing transformation. Technology is partially responsible for

changes in the structure of work; one implication is that parents may be unfamiliar with the sorts of work that will be available to their children. Another is that service sector jobs, while abundant, may be remuneratively deficient. A third pertains to replacement of the current generation of engineers and scientists which is aging and will reach retirement by 2000. Since white males are the usual candidates for these kinds of careers and since they comprise a small portion of the replacement population, demand will provide new career opportunities for females, blacks, and Hispanics. Preparation for these careers, however, requires academic planning; early and persistent enrollment in science and mathematics courses is a prerequisite. Adjustments need to be made now to take advantage of future job openings. It is clear that adolescents do not have accurate knowledge of jobs or the labor market. As in the past, when shifts were occurring in the structure of labor, adjustment requires parents' involvement and guidance of youths' lives. Interestingly, parents may be helped in this function by teenagers own experiences in the part-time labor force. Although the types of jobs teens usually have do not require or teach sophisticated skills, on-the-job experiences may provide practical knowledge and motivation which transfer to later job success and aspirations.

The quality of parent-adolescent relationships is correlated with eventual career success. This implies that "work capital" is conveyed through parent-adolescent relationships. Effects are more complex than simple modeling and probably are based in respect for norms, self-discipline, and wanting to share in societal traditions. Some aspects of divorce imply disadvantages for youths; they may lose the resource of fathers' networks, which provide contacts to employment, and become suspicious of work and family values. Stepfathers and male kin related to the mother can provide substitute resources. Mothers' socialization strategies may help daughters plan realistically and aspire to careers that match their talents. Divorce, per se, does not predict work success; however, the family processes which benefit work preparation are often thwarted by divorce but need not be if compensatory actions are taken.

Peer Relationships. Studies regarding peer relationships were reviewed with regard to the question of whether they counter or extend parent-adolescent relationships. Teenagers believe that friends and parents share similar values, although they differentiate the two according to respective interests. The popular view of a unitary youth culture with separate values from adult culture was rejected because of the diversity among teenage groups and cliques and their various value orientations, which range from near identity with adult culture to social aberrancy. These data fit a long-standing pattern which is reinforced within and between high schools which segregate youths by background and interests, capacities and values. Lastly, results of studies on adolescents' friendships indicated that these relationships were highly principled and conducive to promoting social solidarity and mutual understanding. These data help to explicate a new perspective which proposes that parents support their adolescent sons' and daughters' transition toward adult society as allies rather than antagonists. Parents establish close relationships without giving up their ethnic, cultural, or moral values. The friendships their children establish are viewed as healthy and need not be competitive in terms of affection or value orientation.

Friedenberg (1965) proposed that youths need to be brought into the social order in meaningful ways if they are to carry on traditions and make them their own. Coleman's concept of social capital highlights the role of parent-adolescent relationship as a mediator between youths and the social order. Empirical studies are consistent in showing that contemporary parents present social norms to adolescents in a context of discipline and discussion. The relationship promotes emotional closeness, respect, and mutual understanding. Peer relationships, in the

main, reinforce these norms as well as engender processes for establishing or changing norms. Hence, youths today appear committed to perpetuating our society and possess the means for transforming it through principled social discourse.

Mutuality in Parent-Adolescent Relationships: Social Capital for Impending Adulthood

The purpose of this chapter is to review results of empirical studies which address the question of how the parent-adolescent relationship contributes to the successful transition of adolescents into adult society. The review is grounded in studies of parent-adolescent relationships in middle SES, well-functioning families. These results are then used as the framework for assessing other factors which bear on contemporary youths' transition to adulthood. They are: the effects of divorce on the parent-adolescent relationship, the changing structure of work in American society, and adolescents' participation in peer relationships. These topics have been emphasized recently as the end of the century is approaching and scholars begin to take stock of the nation's progress and future prospects. The transition from adolescence to adulthood is an obvious focus since it links the younger generation with the value system and traditions which adults know as their society and culture. Divorce, changes in work, and peer affiliation have been implicated in concerns about family life, parent-adolescent relations, and the future of American society. The current review is an attempt to establish an empirical basis for assessing these concerns.

The concept of social capital is offered as an integrating focus. James Coleman (1987) has defined the concept in terms of its mediating function between adolescents and society. He proposes that parent-adolescent relations provide adolescents with access to norms and social understandings which adult members of society share. Insofar as youths communicate and develop mutuality with parents, the parent-adolescent relationship is a vehicle for bringing youths closer to an adult view of society and ought to be of benefit in helping them to make the transition to adulthood. Recent psychological research has gone far in specifying processes by

which the relationship serves the capital producing function (Grotevant & Cooper, 1986; Youniss & Smollar, 1985). These processes include generation of feelings of closeness, communicative exchanges of ideas and values on a regular basis, and transmission of standards regarding the conventional and moral order. An accompanying literature shows that there are differences across families and that these variations are correlated with psychological development in individual adolescents. For example, quality of parent-adolescent communication differentiates individual adolescents on measures of role-taking and ego development, which are signs of psychological maturity.

With these results as a base, divorce becomes important as it may disrupt the relationship and lead to loss of social capital that might otherwise accrue to youths. Reasons for the potential loss include emotional distancing from one or both parents, decreased communication across the generations, and loss of access to parents' social networks. Peer relationships also have potential significance for the capital-producing process. Some commentators suggest that divorce signifies a decline in parental authority and its power to control youths' behavior. The ascendancy of peer influence may be a correlative of the erosion of parental authority. This suggestion is open to debate, with the other side viewing peer relations as supporting extensions of parental relationships. According to this alternative, peer relations supplement parental relationships and enhance the accumulation of social capital.

The third area of research to be covered presents a special problem in the domain of capital. Economic forecasters propose that the structure of jobs today is rapidly being transformed due to changes in the world economy and in technology. For instance, jobs in the manufacturing sector are declining while service sector jobs are increasing in number. The broad question is whether and how parents can help their sons and daughters adapt to these changes through career preparation

and work counseling. Specific issues range from how youths from minority populations can be induced to pursue careers in technical fields to how divorced women, who lack familiarity with the labor markets, orient their daughters toward future careers. In the reviews which follow, these three areas will be covered from two perspectives. One is with respect to parent-adolescent relationship and the processes through which it conveys social capital for the benefit of youths progress to adulthood. The other pertains to structural aspects of society, such as schooling and work, which form the context for the actual experience of adolescence. The two are interdependent under the present assumption that adolescence is not a singular "natural" state but depends on social context for its particular meaning.

This chapter is organized as follows. First, studies which describe typical parent-adolescent relations will be reviewed. The goal is to identify the processes by which the relationship conveys capital for youths. Selected studies explicitate the processes by which capital is produced. The majority of these studies are with middle class adolescents who live with both biological parents; results are taken as modal when it is understood that these relationships actually involve considerable variation across families. The modes are bases for evaluating consequences of divorce on adolescence. The second section is addressed to studies of divorce insofar as they tell us about capital's conveyance under conditions of variation in relationship due to marital disruption. These studies cover closeness to and communication with parents, effects of remarriage, academic performance, heterosexual development, and manifestations of psychological disturbance. Section three deals with work and career development. It begins with economic forecasts of future trends in America's labor market. The chief question is how parental relations orient youths toward jobs and careers when parents' personal knowledge and experience are fast being outdated. This review then turns to studies about adolescents' knowledge of work and society, fathers' and mothers' roles in career

preparation, and the effect of adolescent employment experience on future work and work attitudes. The main assumption is that parents' actions are essential in the career development process for adolescents. In section four, the paradigm of parent vs. peer influence is considered and shown to be inappropriate for contemporary youths. Types of peer groups and cliques are considered in terms of their dominant values relative to societal norms. Finally, adolescent friendships are assessed from the perspective of the basic principles by which they are structured.

Characteristics of Parent-Adolescent Relationships

The framework is taken from Riesman's (1953) well-known analysis of the task modern parents face in preparing children to enter a changing rather than fixed society. Riesman proposes that parents who want their children to be successful have to teach social skills such as how to sense cues which define the meanings of situations. The parent-child relationship, itself, is a model of interpersonal possibilities as well as a training ground for social life in general. Riesman suggests that parents realize they cannot be models for all social possibilities and lack knowledge to cover all the situations their children will meet. Parents consequently encourage children to learn about social life from other persons, for example, peers, and to acquire knowledge about society from others who are more expert than they, for instance, teachers. Parents convey social capital to youths by more subtle and textured means than authoritative assertion of known truths. It entails developing a relationship in which ideas are founded on discussion and reasoning. Psychological closeness is involved as a condition for and a product of communication. In this regard, youths are likely to draw from the relationship rather than withdraw from it.

Closeness. In a series of studies of adolescents over the past two decades, Daniel Offer and his colleagues (e.g., Offer, Ostrov, & Howard, 1981) reported a minimum of hostility accompanied by feelings of being liked and appreciated by

parents. These results agree with findings from several other investigators. Ketterlinus (1987) reported that a sample of about 600 adolescents from Baltimore, MD, gave near to maximum scores indicating their closeness to mothers and fathers. These data fit with the finding that adolescents identify "just talking" as the activity they most enjoy with parents (Youniss & Smollar, 1985). Closeness has counterparts in connectedness (Grotevant & Cooper, 1986) and attachment (Greenberg, Siegel, & Lietch, 1983) which are concepts descriptive of parent-adolescent relationship. They denote intimacy, trust, and emotional support. Contemporary adolescents, on the average, remain emotionally close to their parents while they are separating and constructing individuality (White, Speisman, & Costos, 1983). They do not have to sever parental ties in order to develop psychologically.

Topics of Discussion. Ideas and knowledge are key aspects of social capital. If adults do not share what they know and believe with youths, capital cannot be conveyed. Results on this point are clear and consistent. Adolescents say they regularly converse with their parents (Youniss & Smollar, 1985). Adolescents state they discuss important matters of school, career, family problems, friendship, and social-political issues with parents (Hunter, 1985). When asked whom they go to for advise, adolescents cite their parents as advisors on schooling, career, financial matters, and personal problems (Kandel & Lesser, 1972; Wintre, et al., 1988). Sebald (1986) has added to these findings with samples of youths observed in 1963, 1976, and 1982. Parents were chosen as advisors by all three cohorts; there was a slight drop in parental advice-seeking in the 1976 sample, but the 1963 level was attained by the 1982 sample.

Forms of Communication. Some commentators have questioned whether in becoming "friends" with children, modern parents might hesitate to express differences of opinion or hide their views to avoid disputes. On-line observations of parent-adolescent discussion indicate that parents confront disagreements, explain

their opinions, and listen to explanations given by adolescents (e.g., Bell & Bell, 1983; Cooper, Grotevant, & Condon, 1983). Zahaykevitch (1987) found that mothers argued over differences with daughters and demanding rationales for daughters' views. Another literature on styles of family discussion of political-social topics offers confirming data. Chaffe, McLeod, and Wackman (1973) documented styles in which family members aired views and discussed rationales for the various sides of political issues. A third insight into communication came from adolescents' descriptions of standards for behavior which parents enforced with demands for compliance and various forms of punishment (Youniss & Smollar, 1985). Apparently, closeness does not imply indifference to standards, failure to express preferences, or disputing reasons.

Authority. Damon (1977) reported that pre-adolescents recognized their parents' authority and its basis in experience and expertise. Huard (1980) confirmed these findings in adolescents. Hunter (1984) found that, in describing how their parents dealt with disagreements, adolescents said that parents typically acted as unilateral authorities by demanding compliance. Smith (1983) reported supporting results; in dealing with disagreements, parents most often demanded that adolescents comply with their position. They usually supplied a "cushion" by making the adolescent's welfare the reason for obedience. The second most cited tactic was commanding compliance without conditions. Harris and Howard (1981) added to the above with adolescents' judgments of whether there was a "boss" in their families and whether the boss was "reasonable." Of 844 teenagers, 40% nominated the father as boss while 34% nominated both parents. Forty percent said that the boss exercised authority in a "very reasonable" manner while 25% believed the boss was not so reasonable.

Discipline. There is a small literature on parents' own descriptions of disciplinary techniques used with adolescents. McKenry, Price-Bonham, and

O'Bryant (1981) found that 106 mother-father pairs agreed on the most commonly used techniques; the ranking was: Talk out problems, withdraw privileges, use physical punishment, and isolation. The 146 parents interviewed by De Santis (1986) said they used an array of techniques depending on severity of transgressions and importance of issues. School and alcohol problems typically evoked controlling interventions. De Turk and Miller (1983) reported parents used various techniques, from exertion of power to verbal persuasion, depending on circumstances. Supporting data were obtained from adolescents who judged that misbehaviors would provoke disciplinary reactions from parents (Youniss & Smollar, 1985).

Mutual Understanding and Respect. Youniss and Smollar (1985) found that adolescents respected parents whom they saw as working and sacrificing for their children's welfare. Youths, in contrast to children, recognized parents as persons with problems, strengths, feelings, and foibles. White, et al. (1983) reported that young adults showed further advances toward mutual understanding between themselves and their parents. These data correspond with the established finding that adolescents believe their parents understand them and try to promote their welfare (e.g., Ketterlinus, 1987; Mortimer, Lorence, & Kumka, 1986). Youniss and Smollar (1985), working with data from Hunter (1984), calculated an estimate of mutual understanding as follows: (1) A topic had to be discussed by parents and adolescents; (2) parents had to explain their views on a topic; and (3) adolescents had to feel their parents understood their position. In the main, adolescents believed they had achieved mutual understanding with their parents, in particular, their mothers. Male college students, who had successful careers, felt their fathers understood them well (Mortimer, et al., 1986). Studies also show youths and parents hold similar views on politics, religion, and the work ethic (e.g., Acock & Bengtson, (1978).

Conclusion. This brief sketch of contemporary parent-adolescent relationships was framed around the question of how the relationship actually functions to convey capital in the sense that Coleman implied. Parents and adolescents exchange ideas and discuss values in a context of closeness and respect. Parents are neither indifferent nor avoid setting standards for fear of losing the relationship. Parents assert views with supporting rationales and present them as worth adopting. Adolescents respect parents' views because they are grounded in experience and are offered for adolescents' own welfare. In the main, contemporary parent-adolescent relations are a source of social capital because they provide norms and rationales which are adaptive for adult society. The specific processes by which parents and adolescents interact are sustained through the trials of the adolescent period while providing a basis for continuance of the relationship beyond the adolescent era. Capital is also conveyed in the form of shared knowledge which is mutually understood. Finally, studies indicate that the construction of a concept of self is done with parents through the mediation of the relationship. The popular literature, which encourages the image of the lone adolescent struggling to "find an authentic identity", is contradicted by empirical evidence which shows that parents help in the process and that adolescents look to them for guidance and support.

Divorce and Its Effects

From 1860 to 1960 divorce rates in the United States increased gradually, but from 1963 to 1975, the rate increased 100% and from 1975 to 1981, the rate per year exceeded the rate for each preceding year (Weitzman, 1985, xvii). In 1981 there were 1.2 million divorces in the United States. Over 3 million persons, including children and adolescents, were added to the number directly affected because of family disruption. By 1990, an estimated 40% of children born in the US are expected to spend their entire childhood living with both biological parents. Already by the late 1970s, fewer than 60% of all children under 18 years of age

were, in fact, living with both biological parents (Glick, 1979). Furstenberg and Nord (1985) have noted that estimates of divorce made in the 1960s for the 1980s have proven to be accurate projections.

Marital disruption has clearly altered the household structure and composition of persons with whom children live and from whom they learn. Children most typically live with their mothers or with their mothers and stepfathers (Norton & Glick, 1984). However, the child of divorce typically spends an average of 4.4 years living with only one parent (Norton & Glick, 1984). These data are averages and vary by subgroup in the population. For example, nearly 50% of all black families, are headed by single women (Norton & Glick, 1984).

Effects of divorce have been the object of numerous studies and the subject of several review papers which are focused on specific issues and on specific age groups. Two recent reviews by Blechman (1985) and by Crouter, Belsky, and Spanier (1984) are representative. The authors note that because studies are uneven methodologicaly, comparative analyses are difficult. Typical problems include unequal intervals between the time of divorce and the time of data collection; inability to control for intervening factors such as decline in income; lack of information about reasons for divorce; and lack of data about the quality of family interactions. The chief problem is that data usually come up after the fact. For obvious reasons, one cannot do experimental studies of a pre- vs. post-divorce sort. Consequently, common measures and common independent variables across studies are rare.

Family Income. A major question is how family income is redistributed immediately after divorce. Weitzman (1985) studied divorce cases in California to assess consequences of "no fault" laws. In the first year after divorce, men gained 42% in income on the average while women lost 73% from their predivorce income. Weitzman found also that income decline was directly correlated with predivorce

income level; the higher the income before, the greater the loss after divorce.

Hoffman and Holmes (1976) studied 5,000 US families in a longitudinal project called the Michigan Income Study. Over a 7-year period, women lost income while men gained income. Using a "needs assessment" to evaluate income relative to necessary living expenses, they found that men gained 17% while women had lost 29%. Weiss (1984) reviewed data from the Hoffman and Holmes study and found an absolute disparity in income in the first year after divorce. The disparity widened over the next five years with women falling farther behind their former husbands. This finding, like Weitzman's, shows long-term income effects.

Income loss for women was unrelated to the number of years they had been previously married. Because results are reported according this variable, Weitzman's data provide estimates of income for single mothers with adolescent dependents. Women who were married 11 to 17 years before they divorced suffered a serious loss in income measured on a per family member basis. Weitzman also identified some factors behind income loss; for example, a shift in roles required of women who did not previously work in an income producing job. After 11 to 17 years out of the labor force, women's re-entry to work usually resulted in low wages.

Former husbands frequently fail to meet their promised obligation to supply alimony or child care payments. Of the estimated 4 million women who were eligible for support in 1981, less than one-half received the amount to which they were entitled (Montemayor, 1984). Given the low earning power of women who joined the work force late, men's failure to provide promised support has serious income consequences. Some women who were interviewed by Weitzman said, "We ate macaroni and cheese five nights a week. There was a Safeway special for 39 cents a box. ... We could eat seven dinners for $3.00 a week. ... I think that's all we ate for months" (p.339). Or, "I applied for welfare. ... It was the worst experience of my life. ... I never dreamed that I, a middle class house wife, would

ever be in a position like that. But we were desperate and I had to feed my kids" (p.339).

The broader dimensions of the problem have been emphasized by several writers including Edelman (1986) who highlighted the fact that single mothers constitute a large percentage of the poverty class in this country. Using 1983 figures, Norton and Glick (1984) estimate average yearly incomes for single mothers of $9,153; for single fathers of $19,950; and for two parent families of $ 28,165. These data can be compared with actual results reported by Hetherington, Cox, and Cox (1985) who observed about 140 families over a 6-year period. Average yearly incomes were $16,010 for single mothers; $35,162 for remarried mothers; and $36,900 for never divorced couples. It is fair to conclude that, following divorce, women and children suffer an immediate decline in income whether it is measured by need, per capita terms, or absolutely. The differential puts women and children, including adolescents, at a disadvantage. The difference continues and actually widens on the average even after 7 years. It is notable that former husbands pay less than promised amounts of alimony or child care as time extends after divorce. These men often enter into new marital relations to which they commit financial resources. Whatever men's felt commitment before divorce, feelings toward former wives and children change after. One of the women in Weitzman's study illustrated the point well; her former husband had previously wanted his son to follow in his footsteps by attending Dartmouth. After divorce, however, he thought his son go to the local public college and help pay for his education through part-time employment (p. 353). The obvious question is: What do we know about fathers' relationships with their children after divorce that can explain why fathers allow economic disparity between themselves and their biological offspring?

Parent-Adolescent Relations. Over the past two decades, studies consistently indicated that most adolescents feel close to parents and desire their respect.

Douvan and Adelson's (1966) report provides a point of reference. No single question in their extensive interview is critical, but several answers revealed that adolescents believed they were not at odds with their parents about most essential topics. Adolescents stated that they respected their parents and had few serious conflicts with them. The authors concluded that parent-adolescent relationships were not marked by turmoil and stress, but showed an underlying negotiation of basic terms necessary for adolescents' impending adulthood. Kandel and Lesser (1972) reported congruent results. Adolescents from the US (New York) and Denmark claimed to go their parents for advice on important issues of schooling and career choices (cf, Hunter, 1985). Most adolescents also designated their parents as persons whom they emulated (cf, Hirschi, 1969).

Most of these studies come from the 1965-1975 era which was notable for student unrest and public protest. During that era, certain theories of adolescence came to the fore, and the image of the individualistic adolescent struggling against society's conventions became the theoretical norm. However, one can cite studies from that era in which the majority of youths favored convention and agreed with their parents' values. Those findings raise a question about the model of the individuality of youths in their need to separate from parents and oppose adult society. Haan, Smith, and Block (1968) reported that the typical college student at the University of California at Berkeley and San Francisco State University was politically moderate and had a family upbringing in which parents encouraged orderliness and self-discipline. Other reports from that era show that the typical youth was not focused on confrontation, but agreed with parents' values (Sebald, 1986).

During the period in question, Offer and his colleagues administered a self-concept instrument and found consistency in adolescents' positive feelings toward their parents (cf, Offer, 1969; Offer, Ostrov, & Howard, 1981). Offer proposes that

strain in the parent-adolescent relationship is an exageration which masks basic respect and mutual regard. Youniss and Smollar (1985), who studied samples of high school students from New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and Ohio, reported comparable results. Students described typical interactions with parents, topics they discussed, kinds of conflicts, ways disagreements were resolved, and obligations felt toward parents. In the main, adolescents believed parents accepted that they were becoming individuals with their own ideas and private lives. Adolescents also said parents helped them make the transition from the earlier state of childhood dependence. However, individuality was moderated to the degree that the adolescents sought parents' help and sought their validation for the kinds of persons they were becoming. Adolescents desire to be recognized as individuals in their own right, but with the approval and even the assistance of their parents. Hence, becoming an individual is compatible with maintaining positive relationship with parents and may be accomplished through this relationship.

One more finding permeates these studies. Many adolescents hesitate to describe their "parents," but insist on differentiating between their mothers and their fathers. In brief, adolescents feel close to mothers with whom they also communicate regularly on many important matters, including doubts, fears, and personal questions. They say mothers talk with them also, telling them about their problems and sharing experiences. Adolescents believe their mothers understand them well, and they see their mothers as personalities rather than as "figures." Fathers are perceived differently, although adolescents like and feel close to them. Communication with fathers is limited to such things as instructions about conduct or discussions about school and career choices. In general, adolescents do not understand fathers and believe that their fathers do not understand them well. Adolescents say their fathers are probably too busy working to support the family to take the time to talk about the things kids find important. Moreover,

adolescents sense an obligation to be good and help the family in reciprocity to the father's effort on behalf of the family's economic well-being (Douvan & Adelson, 1966; Wright & Keple, 1981; Youniss & Smollar, 1985).

Studies consistently demonstrate that, after divorce, adolescents feel especially close to their custodial mothers (cf., Furstenberg & Nord, 1985; Rosenthal & Hansen, 1980; Smollar & Youniss, 1985; Weiss, 1979; Youniss & Ketterlinus, 1987). This result holds whether the custodial mother stays at home or works outside the home. Closeness is not, therefore, simply a matter of time spent with the mother, but may follow from enhanced communication in the single parent household (Weiss, 1979) or the lack of parental disputes over how children ought to be reared (Greenberg, 1979). The data, obtained primarily from adolescents, fit with results obtained from parents themselves. Wedemeyer and Johnson (1982) reported that custodial mothers emphasized the importance of closeness to their adolescent sons and daughters while fathers stressed the importance of school achievement and future work.

The closeness adolescents feel to their custodial mothers contrasts with the distance they feel to their nonresidential fathers (Furstenberg & Nord, 1985; Hess & Camara, 1979; Smollar & Youniss, 1985; Youniss & Ketterlinus, 1987). Scores for closeness to noncustodial fathers are also lower than scores for fathers from intact families. The latter two studies contained additional estimates of how well adolescents felt their fathers knew them. Estimates for fathers living apart from adolescents were especially low, implying quite restricted father-adolescent communication. This result corresponds with other findings in the literature. Some teenage daughters experience discomfort when they are put in the situation of having spend time alone with their custodial fathers after years of not talking about serious matters with them (Springer & Wallerstein, 1983). Also, adolescents and custodial mothers achieve extreme closeness in the new family arrangement where

they share chores, financial responsibilities, and personal problem solving (Weiss, 1979). Further, adolescents have a tendency to identify with only one parent after the divorce (Wallerstein & Kelly, 1974); since fathers often distance themselves from their former families, mothers are the more likely candidates for identification.

Stepparents. In 1978, about 6.5 million children under 18-years of age lived with one natural and one stepparent (Glick, 1980). This figure excludes children living with their biological mothers who never married. According to Glick (1980), about 40% of marriages of women in their 30s end in divorce. About 75% of these women remarry (vs. 83% of divorced men). Furstenberg, Nord, Peterson, and Zill (1983) estimated that 39% of all children below age 18 in the US in 1983, experienced marital disruption. About 4 in 7 white children and 1 in 8 black children are reconfigured in a stepparent family structure. Since the average interval between divorce and remarriage is 4.4 years, many children go through a series of family constelations. They begin with two biological parents, next live with one parent, and then move back to a two-parent context.

Although data about effects of stepparents on adolescents' development are relatively scarce, two points of controversy are worth reviewing: (1) the literature on "father absence" and the question of whether living with a stepfather is better or worse for sons than living with no father or adult males; and (2) possible gender differences such that advantages of a stepfather for males are coupled with disadvantages for females. Issue (1) has studies on both sides of the ledger. Chapman (1977) found academic achievement of male college students was affected by father absence during their childhood; males, who had experienced father absence, had lower SAT scores than males who had always lived with their fathers. However, males with stepfathers showed less of a difference, indicating that presence of a stepfather had an ameliorative effect relative to father absence. Hetherington, et al. (1985) are conducting a longitudinal study with about 140

families and several of their subjects are in presently adolescents. They reported that male adolescents who live with their mothers only manifest more signs of psychological disorder than same age peers from intact families. In sons with stepfathers, symptoms abated significantly and became less prevalent than for males living with their mothers only. Santrock, Warshak, Lindbergh, and Meadows (1982) reported that 6- to 11-year-old males who live with their mothers and stepfathers tend to be socially more mature, show less anger, and have higher self-esteem than same age peers living with their mothers only. Moreover, males expressed greater warmth to their stepfathers than males from two-parent families expressed toward their biological fathers.

Dornbusch, et al. (1985) reported data on the other side of the ledger. Data from 7,514 youths, 12- to 17-years-old, in the National Health Examination Survey (Cycle III; 1966-1970), showed that delinquency, defined variously from school disruption through police contacts, was higher for adolescents who lived with their mothers only than for adolescents who lived with both biological parents. Delinquency was less apparent for adolescents in homes with a mother plus another adult -- except for stepfathers! With stepfathers present, delinquency rates were as high as when the mother was the sole adult in the home. Finally, males did not feel close to stepfathers. Lutz (1983) studied 103 adolescents from stepfamilies but did not have control groups from intact or mother ly families. Adolescents reported two sources of stress: divided loyalty between the stepparent and the nonresidential biological parent and difficulty in accepting discipline from the stepparent.

Differential effects of stepparents on sons and daughters is a second important issue in the current literature. Recall that in Dornbusch, et al. (1985), males from intact homes showed less delinquency than males living with mothers only or with mothers plus stepfathers. Also, females with stepfathers were less delinquent than females who lived with their mothers alone. Those with stepfathers were as little

delinquent as females from intact families. The more typical finding for females, however, is that presence of stepfathers is associated with difficulties in several dimensions. Hetherington, et al. (1985) found that after divorce, sons showed increases in "externalizing" -- acting-out -- symptoms. However, when mothers remarried, these symptoms abated in sons. After divorce, females showed an increase in "internalizing" symptoms, such as depression. When mothers remarried, these symptoms actually increased over the level reported for females living with their mothers only. Results agree with findings reported by Kinnard and Gerrard (1986) for female college students; those with stepfathers reported higher rates of sexual activity than females from intact families. Coeds with stepfathers also differed from females from intact families on plans for marriage and child bearing as well as expectations of getting divorced. Lastly, Garbarino, Sebes, and Schellenbach (1984) observed 62 families with children between the ages of 10- and 16-years and concluded that living with stepfathers constituted a "high risk" for female adolescents' in terms of internalizing symptoms as well as physical abuse. In complement to Dornbusch, et al.'s stepsons, Garbarino, et al.'s stepdaughters did not feel close to their stepfathers.

At one time the literature was interpreted as indicating that males benefited from gaining a stepfather over having no male adult in the household (e.g., Chapman, 1977; Young & Parrish, 1977). The reverse was said to be true for females who experienced difficulties after their mothers remarried. As more data have come in, these conclusions need qualification because of negative consequences for males and positive consequences for females. Numerous factors need to be assessed before a firm conclusion about stepparents can be reached: (1) prior relationship between the adolescent and the nonresidential parent and whether it creates a division of loyalty between the biological father and the stepfather; (2) the age at which the stepparent enters and whether a positive relationship is

established with that parent; (3) the nature of the spousal relation and whether it affects the adolescent's bond with the mother. Studies reported to date have not been able to assess these factors adequately and rarely have assessed the dynamics of the family system. The clearest finding is that remarriage may bring financial benefits; income is likely to rise over the level it dropped to when the mother was the only wage earning adult (cf, Hetherington, et al., 1985).

Educational Achievement. Shinn (1978) summarized 28 studies conducted between 1930 and 1975 which reported correlations between academic achievement and family structure. His review was undertaken in the interest of the College Entrance Examination Board panel because of declining scores on the Scholastic Aptitude Test. One question was whether the decline was attributable to increased divorce rates during the same time period. In 18 studies, no effect was found for father absence while in 7 other studies, results favored students from intact family backgrounds. Shinn posed three potential sources for the latter finding: lessened parent-child interaction due to the father's physical absence; weakened financial circumstances which may have resulted in poorer schooling; and anger such that children expended energy on noneducational matters.

Blechman (1982) and Cashion (1982) provided more recent reviews and also reported mixed results. Data show either advantages for students from intact families or no difference between them and students from mother-only situations. These reviews, as so many in the field of divorce research, emphasize methodological problems which make drawing solid conclusions difficult. Crouter, Belsky, and Spanier (1984), in another review, proposed that when social class or socio-economic status have been controlled, "...That IQ and school performance are adversely affected by divorce" (p. 213). Still, caution is needed because reasons for poorer achievement are not specified in most studies. When they have been addressed, SES effects were significant. Ambert (1982), for instance, interviewed

and observed 10 lower class families headed by single women and documented that the surrounding environment was probably not conducive to school achievement. But this was only one of many problems mothers faced with childrearing in a poverty setting. As Dornbusch, et al., Ambert noted that other adults provided support for single mothers by supplying added discipline in an environment which lacked standards.

Recent spurs to this literature have been due more to theory than to new data. For a time, the "confluence model" of Zajonc and Markus (1976) generated studies. They proposed that IQ and achievement are products of the family's intellectual environment which is determined by the ratio of learners to teachers or adults to children. This concept was applied to the lowering of SAT scores when the "baby boomers" were passing through high school. These students came from families with relatively large numbers of children in contrast to the prior cohort born during the 1930-1945 era. The application of this model to divorce is rather obvious (e.g., Fowler & Richards, 1981) since an immediate effect of divorce is reducting by one the number of adults in the home raising the ratio of children to adults. Negative effects should follow from the reduced intellectual climate which one rather than two parents can provide.

Another theoretical advance has come from viewing the family as an economic entity when achievement in children is perceived as a "commodity" that parents "produce" through their investment of time and effort (Becker, 1981). Without fathers, input is reduced by half, or more if the mother who previously stayed at home, goes out of the home to work (Krein, 1986). Coleman's (1987) notion of social capital combines components of both of the above concepts. The central focus is on processes by which parents transmit norms and establishment of relationship which promotes commitment to the norms. Relationships with parents provide resources which facilitate adjustment to adult roles, for example, using

personal contacts to help youths find employment. These theories emphasize interpersonal interactions through which adolescents construct self and social orientations. Father absence is a passive variable that is uninformative about what fathers actually do with and for their children. In the theories cited here, activities which stimulate intellectual and educational development are the objects of study. Research should go further in this direction if we are to understand differences among fathers from stepfamilies, intact families, or single parent families. Father presence or absence alone cannot explain differences among family structures, much less explain why there are differences within family types.

A different angle on the question of achievement has been provided by data from large samples obtained in longitudinal design. One of those studies is the National Longitudinal Surveys of Work Experience which were begun in the late 1960s with about 5,000 males and equal number of females. The subjects were adolescents when they were first interviewed. The same individuals have been seen repeatedly to the present. Because some persons have come from families which experienced divorce, the data set provides evidence about long-term effects from adolescence through early adulthood. D'Amico, Haurin, and Mott (1983) reported that males from single parent family backgrounds had lower status jobs and projected lower work aspirations for themselves at "age 30" than their peers from intact families. A contrasting result was obtained for females. Females from single parent backgrounds attained higher status jobs and had higher aspirations, looking forward to age 30, than females from intact family backgrounds. The authors suggested that this difference might be due to "a strong mother-daughter transmission" of positive attitudes toward work. Mothers who had become heads of households because of divorce may have encouraged their daughters to integrate work and career into their identities. In contrast, without fathers, male youths may have been disadvantaged in constructing work identities.

Krein (1986) evaluated the same data set, but looked at educational attainment as the outcome. Males from divorced backgrounds attained on the average one-half a year less schooling than males from intact families. For each year in which the males had lived in a single parent household, there was an additional one-tenth of a year less schooling (p. 164). This result fits with the finding of lower job status insofar as advanced schooling is correlated with higher status jobs.

Most other data come from incidental samples which hinder comparison across studies. In a study by Rosenthal and Hansen (1980) of 559 students from three school districts in New York state, nineteen percent were from single parent homes. Compared with their peers from intact families, these students had lower grades in school as well as lower occupational aspirations. These data differ from results reported by Bachman, O'Mally, and Johnston (1978) who studied 1,628 males and found equal educational attainment in students from single and two parent families. Results like these are difficult to compare because they offer little insight into process. Rosenthal and Hansen (1980), however, did report on some dynamics following divorce. Male adolescents living with mothers only, judged their fathers as "less demanding", "less loving", and "more rejecting" than did males living with both parents.

It is unsatisfactory not to draw definite conclusions, but the methodological issues already mentioned remain deterrents to sorting out bases for diverse results. A closer look at family interactions combined with a better assessment of the ecology in which youths have to function would help future research. A case in point is the study cited previously by Ambert (1982) who interviewed lower class mothers in the settings where they lived and found that they faced numerous problems in rearing their adolescent sons and daughters. These women described a harsh environment with abundant opportunities not to succeed in school and to get into trouble with the law. While mothers spoke of getting support from kin and

friends, they expressed concern about discipline and control because of laxness in the surrounding milieu. Dornbusch, et al. (1985) expand this idea by showing that adolescents from households with one parent scored higher on measures of delinquency (e.g., "contact with police"; truancy) than adolescents from households with many adults. In brief, the milieu which surrounds the family has an important role to play youths' in educational achievement.

Psycho-social Effects. Two well-known studies provide data about psychological symptoms which are associated with divorce. Wallerstein and Kelly (1971) observed 60 families, with 131 children, which were undergoing divorce. Ten-year follow-up data, collected from 113 of the children, 40 of whom were 19- to 29-years of age, can be summarized as follows (Wallerstein, 1985): (1) Despite the long interval since their parents' divorce, most subjects have "vivid memories" the break-up. (2) Feelings of sadness about the divorce are "near to being a lasting characteristic" in these subjects. (3) Subjects still resent their parents who are held responsible for the subjects' negative feelings. (4) Subjects regret not having had a "normal family life." (5) As a group, these youths have conservative views on marriage and believe in the ideal of nondivorce. (6) These youths are also conservative in moral matters. (7) The young adult women express wariness about marriage. Many of them experienced serial romances rather than seeking stable relationships. (8) Often the men they loved are much older than they, perhaps representing a search for father substitutes (see section on heterosexual relations).

Hetherington, et al. originally observed parents and children from 72 intact and 72 divorced families. A six-year follow-up was reported in 1985 for 60 families, some with adolescents. Data were obtained from the parents, the adolescents, and classroom teachers. Several findings are pertinent to present interests. (A) Youths from divorced families experienced more "life event" changes, for example, changing residence, than the youths from intact families. A probable cause is the income

differential between single mothers ($16,010) and intact families ($36,900). (B) As children, males from disrupted families had shown "externalizing" psychiatric symptoms -- e.g., aggression, noncompliance to adult requests, and school misbehavior requiring teacher admonishment. These symptoms tended to remain stable over the 6-year span, especially for the males whose mother did not remarry. (C) Some abatement of these symptoms was noted in males who had gained a stepfather. The advantage, however, was not so great as that reported by Santrock, et al. (1982), who found that the males with a stepfather had become indistinguishable from males living with biological fathers in intact families.

(D) Females from divorced backgrounds had originally manifested "internalizing" symptoms of anxiety, depression, and withdrawal. These symptoms remained stable through the 6-year interval, especially in females whose mothers remarried. Of the 60 mothers in the divorce group who were observed 6-years later, 48 had remarried; hence, remarriage was the norm rather than the exception for this middle income level group. The average income for the stepfamilies was $35,162 compared with $36,900 for the intact families. It can be seen that result (D) agrees with the findings of Garbarino, et al. (1984).

Kulka and Weingarten (1979) analyzed data from two national surveys, conducted 20 years apart in time, which provide checks on the above results. The 1959 survey sampled 2,460 subjects and the 1976 sampled 2,264 subjects, representing adults over 21 years of age in the US. The variable of divorce was defined by answers to the question: "Did you always live with your real parents up to the time you were 16-years-old?" Subjects who said no were asked why, and their answers were categorized according to reasons for disruption. Adults whose parents had divorced before they were 16-years-old recalled childhood and adolescence as the "unhappiest time of life" to a greater degree than adults who did not experience divorce. This result is congruent with Wallerstein's (1985) finding and suggests that

divorce may serve as a marker event by which the past is ordered and given a negative tone. Adults from divorced backgrounds reported a greater degree of "anxiety and immobilization" than adults who had not experienced divorce. These results should be read with caution; several measures were used and of the lot, only a few were differentiated by the variable of family disruption. For example, depression which has been shown to be associated with divorce in daughters, did not prove to be significant in these adult females. The safest conclusion seems to be that general psychiatric symptoms may be evident immediately after the parents part (Wallerstein & Kelly, 1971), but may dissipate later.

Heterosexual Relations. Several investigators have studied effects of divorce on sex role development, especially in females. Hetherington (1979), Kinnard and Gerrard (1986), and Wallerstein and Kelly (1980) independently reported that females from backgrounds of divorce tend to be sexually precocious and more aggressive than females from intact family backgrounds. But, Kalter, et al. (1985), who studied 1,218 female college students, did not find differences in dating or sexual behavior due to divorce vs. intactness. Kalter, et al., however, found that females whose parents had divorced had a bleak outlook toward their own marriage prospects in the future. Kinnard and Gerrard (1986) found a similar result in their sample of 875 female college students, 15% of whom came from families that had experienced divorce. Hetherington (1979) found that females from divorced families tended to marry men less educated than they and were more likely to be pregnant at the time of marriage than females from intact families.

The studies by Kalter, et al. and Kinnard and Gerrard merit further inspection because they dealt with samples of older, better educated females than the females in Hetherington's (1979) study. The unfavorable view toward marriage prospects was accompanied by a general negative outlook on the future. This coupling seems significant because, statistically, these females have rather bright future prospects.

The finding may be indicative of a developmental effect insofar as it has been found that younger adolescents who have experienced their parents' divorce assert traditional views about marriage yet offer the most negative prospect for their own future marriages (Ganong, Coleman, & Brown, 1981). Cautiousness toward the future may stem from divorced mothers who want to shield daughters from sharing their experiences of divorce (Wallerstein, 1985).

Wallerstein's (1985) report presents data from 113 subjects, 24 of whom were females,19- and 29-years-old, in 1981-1983. Eight, or 33%, selected older men as romantic partners in a search for someone who would care for them and treat them well. Choices of "surrogate fathers" lacked permanency as well as commitment. These data, together with Hetherington's (1979) results, show generalized heterosexual difficulties which cut across social class lines.

Maternal Employment. Because divorce often leads to a decline in income for the former wife and the children, it is a spur for women to enter the work force. This action may constitute a drastic change in role perception and child care arrangements for women who previously stayed at home to manage internal family matters. Researchers have tried to determine whether mothers' entrance to the work force affects children's development. Several reviews of the literature, in particular one by Crouter, Belsky, and Spanier (1984), pointed out that researchers typically fail to ask the key questions of why mothers work and how well children are cared for under the new arrangement. These are not trivial questions. Consider the finding that cognitive development is negatively affected when mothers of middle class boys work outside the home. Why is the effect limited to middle class families and to boys? A possible answer may be that middle class mothers who devote full-time to childrearing tend to stimulate sons intellectually and closely monitor their school performance. Any effect for maternal employment may be relative to what middle class mothers do during full-time child care activities. The

literature on maternal employment needs closer analysis of rearing techniques used by mothers who work outside the home.

Two findings in the literature seem to have generality. Maternal employment may have positive effects on daughters. Gold and Andres (1977) studied 253 Canadian adolescents, 14- to 16-years-old, whose mothers went to work when they were 7-years of age on the average. Daughters whose mothers worked had more "nontraditional" aspirations for future work and for sex roles than daughters whose mothers did not work. Additionally, the sons of these working mothers were well-adjusted as measured by standard personality instruments. The authors suggest that mothers who work may concentrate their rearing concerns on important issues and, therefore, appear reasonable and less restrictive to their adolescent offspring. Moreover, when wives work, husbands may take on greater child care responsibility. This would account for the nontraditional perceptions of the females as well as adjustment of the males.

Other studies of maternal employment of custodial mothers have shown maladjustment in sons. Hoffman (1980) criticized these studies for failure to describe circumstances which compel work outside the home and for not estimating the quality of child care provided to sons. Other data which bear on these questions are reported by D'Amico,et al. (1983). Recall that this study reviewed evidence from the National Surveys of Work Experience. As with Gold and Andres's and Hoffman's studies, this analysis showed that maternal employment was beneficial to daughters' work roles, educational aspirations, and "enjoyment of science-technical" courses in school. The authors reported also that mothers who worked when their daughters were in their preschool years had daughters with lower career aspirations than mothers who entered the labor force after their daughters were in school. Krein (1986), who analyzed the same data set, found a similar result for the timing of mothers' work and sons' educational attainment. Sons whose mothers

went to work when they were in their preschool years had lower attainment than sons whose mothers entered the work force after they began school. Attainment, measured by the number of years of schooling, varied directly with the number of years that the mother was the only adult in the household.

D'Amico, et al. propose that these data be viewed from the perspective of the cohort from which they came. The mothers in these surveys would have gone to work as early as 1950 when daycare differed from today and public regard of mothers' working was substantially different also. Census data for 1950 indicate that less than 10% of mothers with children under age 6, worked outside the home. By comparison, in 1980, 48% of mothers with children under 1-year of age were employed. Data from longitudinal surveys must be interpreted carefully, even though they are recently published and statistically well analyzed. Different public attitudes and kinds of child care might alter effects that were obtained 30 years ago.

Career Development

The framework for this section is based on three sets of factors which are important for work and career development. Psychological factors comprise a trait approach which presumes that individuals will be successful depending on the skills they possess. This position is given the least attention here because it may be inappropriate for the dimensions of the problem at hand. Block, Denker, and Tittle (1981) point out that traditional theories of career development assume that "... people possess an array of choices about their careers. The satisfaction of interests is achieved through vocational choice, and once an individual identifies a field of interest, he or she can reasonably assume that training is available and move towards its successful completion" (pp. 895-896). Block, et al. are obviously referring to psychologists' neglect of social structural forces such as world market conditions or technologically induced changes in the nature of work (Grotevant &

Cooper, 1987). Social structural factors, thus, comprise a second set of factors. As will be shown below, economists forecast a radical shift in the kinds of work that will be available over the next two decades. It is not at all correct to assume, therefore, that youths with proper education and adequate motivation will automatically find the kind of employment they seek and expect (cf, Creton, 1985; Bluestone & Harrison, 1987). Despite the capacities individuals might bring to the job market, the nature of work may be the dominant factor which determines who works at which tasks.

The third factor to be considered here is the family which has historically served as the mediator between individual youths and the objective social structure. Kett (1977) documented that eighteenth century youths who moved from rural areas to cities to find work lived near and received support from relatives who were already in the city. Smelser (1959) has carefully documented how eigtheenth century British textile makers were squeezed out of home production, took their sons to the new factories with them, saw their sons squeezed out again, and then chose to send them to school in preparation for work. Katz (1981) has provided a similar illustration for nineteenth century Hamilton, Ontario, where blue collar parents withdrew sons from the labor force in order to have them schooled and increase their chances for upward mobility. Sennett (1974) recounts families' role in helping sons find work in nineteenth century Chicago as fathers' blue collar jobs were giving way to the white collar jobs of the new corporate bureaucracy. Finally, Hareven (1981) has shown how various ethnic groups formed mutual aid networks within the textile manufacturing context of nineteenth century New Hampshire. At first glance, one might see the incoming workers as displaced persons from destitute rural areas; without means to support themselves, they broke off from kin and friends for industrial labor. However, closer inspection reveals that it did not take long before kin and ethnic relations were reconstituted in the

textile mills, themselves, as well as in the surrounding communities.

In the review which follows each set of factors is considered. The social structural position is presented first because it provides a realistic constraint on work and career opportunities that youths will have during the next two decades. Next, adolescents' knowledge of work and society is considered in order to show the degree of disparity between individual cognitions and extant social structure. Roles which can be properly assigned to families are considered next. And finally, a brief review is offered regarding the place of part-time work experience in orienting youths to future work and career goals.

Forecasts. Several economists, representing a broad spectrum of political outlooks, assert that significant changes in available work are likely between now and the year 2000. Leontief and Duchin (1986) offered an analysis of the impact of automation on future employment. They depict scenarios representing degrees of technological and economic growth that could occur over the next 20 years. In the least growth model, no more automation beyond that available in 1980 is assumed. In the most growth model, technology will continue to expand through the use of computers and machine control of tasks. Employment is projected according to sectors (e.g., manufacturing: metal working machinery; electronic components). Under the most growth model, employment increases are anticipated for professionals (4.2%), service workers (2.3%), and craftsmen (1.7%), while declines are predicted for clerical workers (6.4%) and managers (2.3%). Professionals will make up about "20% of all labor requirements" (p. 15) while "the manufacturing labor force will fall from currently 25 million to less than 3 million by 2010" (p. 3). Under either growth model, losses of jobs in the manufacturing sector will be severe.

A sharper image of change is had by looking directly at "computer integrated manufacturing" (CIM), which is designed around the computer and robotics (The

Economist, 1987). Already 30 such factories are in operation in the US. An example is a General Electric dishwasher plant in St. Louis which cost 600 million dollars to build. Productivity was raised by one-third, warranty calls were reduced 50%, and General Electric increased its share of the dishwasher market from 31% to 43%. At an IBM typewriter plant, costing 350 million dollars, in Lexington, KY, use of CIM immediately doubled production to 1.4 units a year. The increase was made with 2,000 workers whereas previously 6,000 workers were required to produce 700,000 units. The new typewriter requires servicing once every four years, while the previous model needed yearly maintenance. The new product costs $1,000 less than the previous "Selectric."

Gill (1985), who also provided analysis of technological innovations in manufacturing, noted that ".. by 1986 the number of electronic functions incorporated into a wide range of products can be expected to be over 100 times greater than it was in 1977" (p.14). With the use of electronics, manufacturing time per unit is cut sharply; whereas 9 hours were needed to produce a mechanical calculator, an electronic calculator requires less than an hour. Gill's analysis is also interesting because it considers the impact of technology on service industries as well as manufacturing; e.g., basic banking activities which include "investment advice, loan calculations, and tax and financial analysis." Retailing services also, with computer networks, will provide "on-line accounting systems, and the total automation of inventory control, product pricing and restocking" (p. 19). These changes in the service sector, which are fairly familiar even to lay persons, probably represent only the start of a larger process. There has been about a $2,000 investment of capital per worker in the service sector while the comparable figure for each factory operative has been $35,000.

A base from which to assess youths' entrance to the work force may be gotten in projections of the kinds of work that are likely to be available in the near

future (Levin & Rumberger, 1983). By 1990, there will be needs for 600,000 new janitors, 200,000 computer systems analysts, 800,000 new fast food workers, and 150,000 computer programmers. These estimates are feed into the notion that a two class employment system may be emerging (Brock, 1986; Brown, 1986). In one class, skills requiring long-term training are needed and hence, workers can be selective and demanding. In the other, skills require much less training, workers are easily replaceable, and they cannot as a rule be demanding of employers. These general data raise the question of the legitimacy of telling youths to "Stay in school to get better jobs" (Bluestone & Harrison, 1987).

Former Labor Secretary William Brock (1986) recently discussed job projections for the year 2000, by noting the potential for a bifurcation in employment. By 2000, 80% of the new entrants into the labor force will be from three groups--women, minorities, and immigrants. These groups were historically disadvantaged in education, and that imposed a limitation on the kinds of jobs they were likely to get. Brock's Labor Department estimates for growth and decline by sectors and types of work are: Service jobs have grown in recent years in business, retail trade, restaurants, medical services, and hotels and lodging. Using average annual percent change in jobs, Brock's rankings are Medical services = 4.3%, business services = 4.2%, computers and peripheral equipment = 3.7%, and transportation services = 3.5%, on the plus side. Negative annual average changes are mainly for manufacturing: cotton = -4.2%, wood containers = -3.6%, leather products = -2.8%, iron and ferroalloy mining = -2.7%, sugar = -2.7%, other mining except copper = -2.6%, and basic steel products = -2.2%.

National Science Foundation projections demonstrate needs for technological positions in science and engineering over the next 15 years (Finkbeiner, 1987; Vetter, 1987). The number of 18- to 25-year-olds, or the coming college population, will be small because of a low birth rate for that cohort (Easterlin, 1985). The

number of scientists and engineers will drop because of expected retirements of the post-Sputnik cohort. Further, it is factual that the percent of students with bachelor's degrees in science and engineering has remained fairly constant for 30 years. Given that this percent may remain steady and that a relatively small cohort of college students is coming up, one can see that the opportunity for work in technological positions should be abundant. Vetter (1987) noted that this confluence of factors may present special opportunities for women and minorities who ordinarily have not entered these fields in large numbers. To take advantage of the opportunity, however, these groups need to adopt a new educational pattern leading to the acquisition of prerequisite skills. As Finkbeiner (1987) observed, it is not too early to begin to focus on this matter. The opening to careers in technical fields occurs at about the seventh grade when choices are made about courses in mathematics and sciences (p. 11). Thus, independent of other job trends, openings in science and engineering appear abundant, and this bodes well for youths who previously did not imagine technological careers for themselves.

What do Adolescents Know about Careers? Borgen and Young (1982) had 544 Canadian youths, grades 5 - 12 answer questions about five common occupations: mechanic, nurse, sales clerk, chef, and bookkeeper. They listed activities which persons in each occupation regularly did in their work. Children in lower grades were less knowledgeable than high school students. Jordaan and Heyde (1979) also found that valid occupational knowledge was most evident in 12th graders. The data may also be compared with Furth's (1980) important results regarding children's understanding of work in the context of community needs and organization. Although Furth's oldest subjects were young adolescents, his data show gradual comprehension of how occupations in the fields of transportation, food, banking, etc., are needed for sustaining society's functioning.

Two often cited studies merit summarizing because they provide grounds for

questioning an informational model of occupational learning. DeFleur and Menke (1975) asked 323 high school students in the State of Washington about seven occupations which comprised 26% of the labor force in the State: engineer, accountant, salesman, mechanic, carpenter, truckdriver, and sawmill worker. Responses were evaluated against actual activities required in these occupations. Students' knowledge was inaccurate; out of a possible score of 100%, a mean of 47% was obtained. Students knew most about truckers (57%) and least about accountants (37%). This result is similar to Brogen and Young's (1982) finding that students knew least about the occupation of bookkeeper. Also, in both studies, older students had more accurate information than younger students. Finally, knowledge about salaries for jobs was also inaccurate. The authors were taken aback at these findings and proposed that high school students be given work experiences to put them in contact with the occupational system which they are about to enter.

Grotevant and Durrett (1980) sampled 6,000 Texas high school seniors who chose their preferred occupations and answered factual questions about them. Students lacked accurate knowledge about the educational requirements for their choices as well as about interests that were pertinent to these choices. The former result has significance in that many of these seniors were about to enter the work force and did not know precisely whether or not they had the educational credentials they needed. A general conclusion is that accurate knowledge about jobs increases through the high school years, yet, students in general lack detailed knowledge about common occupations, the education required for these jobs, and the society in which they fu on.

Shapiro and Crowley (1982) analyzed results from the National Longitudinal Survey (NLS) of Youth. Recall that adolescents in 1979 described the kind of work they wanted to be doing at age 35. Three-fourths of youths aspired to a specific occupation, with one-half aspiring to professional and technical occupations, which

comprise about 15% of the workers in the actual labor force. Youths became more realistic with increasing age, indicating an effect of being in the work force rather than thinking about it from the perch of high school. Youths' orientation to high status, white collar jobs is notable in light of the data reported in the previous section for the kinds of jobs that are likely to be available over the next two decades.

Family's Role in Career Preparation. Three subcategories of studies come under this heading: father variables, maternal variables, and family context variables. Let us quickly point out that the last group of studies provides the least satisfactory insight into career development. Variables such as SES, race, or family structure are lacking in precision, although they differentiate outcomes such as unemployment status or earned income. Nevertheless, they do not illuminate processes by which group averages are produced. As Schulenberg, Vondracek, and Crouter (1984) have observed: "... SES begets SES" (pp. 131). But while variance is accounted for, one cannot say why effects occur or what one might do to get alternative results. Hence, these variables, although powerful, will not be the central focus.

Father effects: Kohn (1969) reported and validated through subsequent studies that fathers from varying work statuses emphasize different themes in the socialization of sons. Fathers in managerial positions stress autonomous action and self-discipline, while working class fathers stress obedience and conformity (see Miller & Swanson, 1963). This result has implications for the hypothetical socialization process by which sons adopt outlooks toward the external world and their self-perceptions as workers. Mortimer, Lorence, and Kumka (1986) presented a set of data pertinent to this theory. In 1962, freshmen at the University of Michigan were enrolled in a study assessing effects of college on attitudes and values. These men were seen subsequently and in the 1980s, 20 years later, 512 of

the original subjects were seen again. A chief conclusion was that it is a "myth" to believe that work and family comprise "separate worlds" (p. 19). The two spheres overlap because family experiences instill values toward achievement and the importance of work as the concept of social capital asserts.

This panel of 512 subjects, is advantaged compared with the population at large; 30% of men are today functioning as doctors, lawyers, or dentists, and 23% are in managerial positions. In general, the correlation between family SES and adolescents' aspirations is established but the process which mediates the correlation is indeterminate. In this study, the process was explicated to the degree that fathers of high achieving sons had common characteristics. They provided sons with information about jobs, with personal contacts that "facilitate movement into the more desirable jobs", and with close interpersonal relations that allowed communication and warmth. In contrast to general findings for father-son relations (e.g., Youniss & Smollar, 1985), these sons believed that their fathers understood them and they felt close to their fathers. In keeping with Kohn's findings, these high achievers perceived their jobs as affording autonomy by allowing for innovative thinking and decision making. Further, sons with a stronger sense of self-competence and greater work involvement, perceived their fathers as having been supportive. In fact, the measure of paternal support was strong enough to nullify the effect of SES when they both were put into regression analyses (p. 76). Finally, sons who had more positive relations with their fathers had "less problematic work histories during the following decade..." (p.78). The authors concluded that fathers' influence occurs through early stimulation of competence and achievement orientation and continues through supportive activities during the critical time when men are beginning careers.

These data make a stronger case than usual because they specify process while covering a panel that began during youth and was continued through early

adulthood. It is interesting, therefore, that there are contrasting data regarding fathers' affects on daughters' career aspirations. Ammons and Ammons (1981) reported that of 152 college females, those who stated a preference for fathers over mothers had low vocational ambitions while preference for mothers was unrelated to vocational choice. Goodale and Hall (1976) reported differential effects of perceived parental influence for 437 high school males and females. Males perceived greater parental support than females for continuing their education and females perceived less parental interest in their school achievement than did males. Parsons, Adler, and Kaczala (1982) reported congruent findings for achievement in mathematics. Parents of students from 2nd through 11th grades were sampled from 22 classrooms. Although daughters were actually performing better than sons in mathematics, parents said daughters had to try harder and that mathematics was more important for sons than daughters.

Peterson, Rollins, and Heaps (1982) studied 182 families, 96 of which had both a male and a female adolescent. The adolescents and their parents, from Salt Lake City, were interviewed about careers. While 49% of the daughters chose homemaker careers for themselves, 71% of the fathers chose that role for daughters. When parents were presented with the possibility of a press on the family's financial resources, the majority said they would put money into sons' schooling but ask daughters to delay career goals. The preference to advance sons' over daughters' careers was unrelated to religious affiliation since it did not differentiate Mormons and non-Mormons. It is noted that, religion aside, the Peterson, et al. results are congruent with findings from other samples which show that a large number of fathers whose daughters were adolescents during the 1970s and early 1980s, tended to view them somewhat traditionally in terms of future careers and roles while daughters viewed themselves quite differently.

There are insufficient grounds for attempting to state a generalization about

today's fathers and how they perceive their daughters' futures as workers, wives, and mothers. Available data suggest fewer fathers may have broken from tradition than one would guess from the popular media. Still, there is variation among men, and studies which have looked for variability have found it. Houser and Garvey (1983), for example, studied females in California who were enrolled in vocational programs that could be classified as traditional or nontraditional according to gender statistics. Traditional courses led to jobs in health care, office work, and home economics while nontraditional programs led to jobs in electronics, metal working, and agricultural; 224 women chose traditional courses and 246 women chose nontraditional tracks. Females in nontraditional programs cited their fathers as the most supportive person in their choice of this course of study. Females in traditional programs cited their fathers as the second most supportive person in that decision. Fathers were perceived as caring about choices and fathers differed in their views of traditional and nontraditional work roles for their daughters.

Mother effects: Haber (1980) reported that female college students believed their mothers had a strong influence on their vocational choices for traditional or nontraditional careers. Mothers, as fathers, vary widely in the roles they encourage their daughters to seek. Some mothers encouraged careers which were compatible with being a wife and raising children. Other mothers encouraged their daughters to adopt traditional roles but took a "God forbid" attitude that daughters must be prepared to become self-supporting should something untoward happen to their parents or husbands. A third group of employed mothers was not career oriented, but their daughters showed a commitment to work. This effect cannot be attributed to modeling, but implies "cognitive role" communication meaning that mothers transmitted career attitudes that extend beyond their own behavior.

Another line of research attempts to discover whether mothers' employment outside the home is related to females' work choices and aspirations. Huston-Stein

and Higgins-Trenk (1978) provided a careful literature review on this issue and found that maternal employment during daughters' childhood and adolescence, predicts daughters' career aspirations. Bacon and Lerner (1975), for example, reported that elementary school children whose mothers were employed said that male dominant or sex neutral careers were available to them more than females whose mothers did not work. Gold and Andres (1978) studied 253 14- to 16-year-olds plus their parents. Females of employed mothers made fewer distinctions as to sex boundaries on jobs or on stereotypical personal characteristics. In addition, employed mothers reported greater involvement by husbands in childrearing, showed lesser rates of rejection of their children, and expressed greater satisfaction with their roles than nonemployed mothers. These studies are consistent with findings on divorce and the hypothesized advantages in career aspirations and attainment for females whose mothers work to support their families. They leave open, however, questions about process and beg for clarity regarding family dynamics.

Ridgeway (1978) documented some complex dynamics in a study of 457 college women, ages 18 to 22. Females committed to careers identified themselves with their mothers more than their fathers and had mothers who themselves were employed. Females oriented to more traditional roles showed greater identification with fathers; moreover, their mothers had less extensive work histories. Ridgeway offered a balanced view of the results by pointing out that these patterns may represent alternative paths into adaptive adult roles. Women who identified mainly with their employed mothers, described themselves as rather different from their fathers. Ridgeway saw this as possibly implying self-confidence and independence. On the other hand, those who identified more with their fathers, but showed preference for traditional kinds of work, had the advantage of seeing their choices accepted by the opposite sex and their potential marital partners. Smith (1980) adds to the complexity with a report on 1,487 high school age females from

California who were sampled in 1965. They were asked whether they wanted to work and expected to work as adults. Identification with mother was a key factor in wanting and expecting to work. Modeling was not a factor since wanting to work was independent of mothers' employment status. Identification, however, was related to mothers' educational level, implying, along with Haber (1980), an effect that was mediated through the mother-daughter relationship rather than through daughters copying their mothers' behavior.

The Smith study points to a difficulty in the literature. There may be a cohort effect in females' views of themselves as workers and their mothers' rearing of them. Shapiro and Crowley (1982), who analyzed NLS data, observed a change in outlook between the 1979 cohort and its predecessors in the 1960s. They noted a shift toward a greater expectation for females to work when they are adults, a shift upward in the kinds of jobs they expect to take, and lessened expectations to have clerical and service sector jobs. These expectations are consistent with aspirations for more years of education and lower fertility. Minority females were especially distinctive in their high aspirations regarding schooling and work status. Shapiro and Crowley provided a thoughtful discussion of the problems which might be entailed given the prospects of the job market and the lowered capacity for minority parents to supply the resources needed for promoting their offsprings' higher education.

The self-perceptions found in adolescents and young adults are understood to have origins in early childhood development. There is an interesting literature on early determinants of career aspirations and if the data are reliable, one has to recognize that outcomes may be 20 or so years in the making. Metzler-Brennen, Lewis, and Gerrard (1985) had 63 career women and 62 homemakers give retrospective accounts of their childhoods. The authors rated accounts of childhood toys, games, and nonacademic activities for degree of masculinity. Ratings

differentiated career women from homemakers; they also distinguished current "masculine" attitudes and interests in these women. A related finding was reported by Lever (1978) who had junior high school students keep diaries of their after school activities. Males typically engaged in organized group activities with rules and role differentiation while females were typically involved in free-form activities of talking and sharing emotions. Lever noted that boys' activities may preview the teamwork and managerial organization characteristic of adult masculine work.

Reid and Stephens (1985) suggested that occupational choices for females are rooted in early experiences of role stereotyping. Repeated trials of expectations, rewards, expressions of surprise, and the like, get implicitly calculated into the self-concept. There is a wealth of data on the matter. For example, mothers and fathers interact differentially with infant sons and daughters (Lamb, 1977). Already in kindergarten, females tend to have deeper, intensive peer relations while boys have extensive, looser ties that are permeable (Waldrop & Halverson, 1978). Although research on career development has tended to focus on here-and-now causes and effects, earlier experiences in the family have strong and long-lasting effects which are integrated into youths' self-concepts.

Work Experience. D'Amico (1984) has reviewed NLS data to determine whether teenagers who work during the high school years manifest impaired school achievement. Recall that the study's initial sampling occurred in 1979, when about 5,000 of the subjects were high school students. This study provides a reasonable estimate of how many students actually work in part-time positions and how much they work on the average. Three results are noteworthy: (1) A minimum of 40% of white 10th graders worked at least one week per semester; by grade 12, about 75% of white students held part-time jobs (2) At each grade, from 10 through 12, more white than minority students worked with the difference being larger for females than males. (3) By grade 12, the average hours worked had increased to 15 to 18

per week.

According to D'Amico's analysis, the more hours students worked, the less time they studied. However, employment was not associated with diminished school performance; rather, "high school employment significantly improves the class standing of white males" (p. 160). For females, employment was associated with increased knowledge of the "labor market" measured by awareness of how to apply for jobs and how to use acquaintances as contacts. Further, work was not consistently correlated with dropping out of school. In grade 11, employment was associated with dropping out only in white females, but in white males and minority students of both sexes, work was found "to enhance school perseverance." Working had positive effects and did not have obvious negative effects on achievement or drop out rates.

Steinberg, Greenberger, Vaux, and Ruggiero (1981), in one of their several reports, studied 531 California students in the 10th and 11th grades. Thirty-six percent of the students held jobs and worked on the average, 20-24 hours per week. Employed vs. nonemployed students differed in positive work orientation ("I seldom get behind in my work.") and in self-reliance ("Someone often has to tell me what to do."). Work experience was positively related to practical knowledge about work (knowledge of business operations and economic concepts). Workers were more concerned about doing significant things at work than nonemployed students. The authors concluded that "... experience in the workplace may communicate to adolescents certain ideas about what sorts of traits and information one may need to function successfully as an adult worker" (p. 419).

Despite such data, questions remain about the value of work experience. Greenberger and Steinberg (1981) considered the recommendation that high school youths be integrated into the workplace. This proposition was common in the 1970s when youths publicly protested against the work ethic. In 1981, the authors

suggested that effects of work experience are not so positive as they were expected to be. Work was supposed to provide experience of self-management and autonomy. The authors concluded that few youths have the opportunity to experience self-management at work because they rarely work alone and are usually monitored closely. Moreover, very few youths supervised the work of other persons. Only about one-half of the youths said they were conscientious about their duties on their jobs. About one-half felt their work was beneficial to other persons within the organization in which they worked. Further, about one-third of students used their wages to give money to parents and friends to help them out or buy them gifts.

The vast majority of youths said their work put them in interaction with adult co-workers. Workers learned about the interdependence of co-workers; when a colleague was absent, they were asked to take over another's duties. The authors did not contest the general thesis that work can have the benefit of bringing youths into contact with a realm of society which they ordinarily might not get to know. They argued, however, that claims about the benefits of employment need to be moderated. For example, it is proposed that most youths learn few job skills because the work they do mainly requires activities they have already mastered. The authors concluded with three generalizations: (1) Advocates of work for youths should realize that work is not unidimensional but varies widely in what it teaches and how it engages youths in decision making and self-management. (2) Recommendations that the workplace be used as a socialization device should articulate how jobs will promote specific skills and provide explicit types of transferable experiences. (3) Proposals that work programs be devised for youths, should differentiate between work as a necessity and work as a training experience and, in the latter, careful engineering will be required to assure benefits for the cost.

Hamilton and Crouter (1980) reviewed and critiqued studies, agreeing with Greenberger and Steinberg (1981) about the weakness of asserting that work for youth is unidimensional and uniformly good. Work which youths do varies in the quality of experiences it provides. Eight supposed benefits of work are considered: (1) exposure to a career; (2) exposure to adult work attitudes; (3) interaction with adults (4) responsibility; (5) problem solving skills outside of the classroom; (6) experiences of citizenship; (7) academic motivation; and (8) life-long learning skills. Hamilton and Crouter believe available evidence is insufficient to conclude that work actually provides these outcomes. They proposed also that work can be viewed as less than positive in some respects. Work experiences can be alienating; they cite Behn, Carnoy, Carter, Crain, and Levin (1974), who argued that work is shaped by demands for profit and fails to be sensitive to the needs of workers. While adolescence allows the "moratorium" of reflective exploration, work interrupts reflection and directs youths back to a demanding reality. Federally sponsored work projects for youths usually expose them to other youths who are similar to themselves. The work they are taught can be questioned for its practicality and eventual usefulness. And, upon returning to their environment, these youths are typically not given watchful support and encouragement needed to combat the alienation which their environment can engender.

In retrospect, committee reports from the 1970s (e.g., Panel on Youth, 1974; Work Education Consortium, 1978) were quite sanguine about the benefits that would accrue to youths who supplemented their school experience with exposure to the real workplace. It is helpful to recall that the context was fear that youths had broken from the work tradition and did not have the self-discipline required for the normal work regimen. Panel members may not have had a clear grasp of the kinds of work that youths would be afforded (i.e., fast food or retail clerking at minimum wages in the company of other youths). In the 1980s, researchers have looked anew

at data and reached cautious conclusions about supposed benefits of adolescent employment.

From a third party perspective, one can see how difficult it would be to render a single conclusion from the available evidence. The supposed benefits of work do not translate into simple dependent measures but are open to multiple definitions. For example, in one study "responsibility" is measured by adolescents' accounts of how they manage their own money while in another it is measured through agreement with the statement that adolescents take their work role seriously. A partial solution would come from a broader perspective that took account of youths' in their family context. A case in point is found in Elder's (1974) longitudinal analysis of men who were youths during the Great Depression of the 1930s. Elder found that adolescents who went to work developed responsibility as they took on adult orientations and contributed to their families' economic subsistence. A close look at the work these young men did, would likely reveal menial duties which lacked the sophistication required of adult work. Nevertheless, the record shows that work with the purpose of aiding their families who had lost income, had long range positive effects that persisted through the adult phase of these men's lives.

The study by Elder (1974) fits into a larger body of historical research. From Smelser's (1959) study of the textile industry in England in the late 18th Century through Katz's (1981) analysis of industrialization in Hamilton, Ontario, one can see that youths' work should not be construed as an individual act, but is better seen as an extension of family needs and interests. A more valid conception is that work expresses a common interest shared by adolescents and parents. Social scientists too easily forget that youths and parents are allies in confronting a social system which is not necessarily hospitable to youths (Gillis, 1981). Studies of adolescent employment have typically not looked at the parents' acceptance of that

work or assessed the contribution of youths' wages to the family economy. Although youths earn minimum wages, their income can pay for clothes and entertainment which would otherwise have to come from the parents' income. The purpose of work in the family context is a missing element that may be more important than the material details of work. Perhaps when youths contribute to their family through work, they may acquire positive attitudes toward work that go beyond the objective details that are found in material analysis the jobs themselves.

Peer Relationships

Gilbert (1986), a historian of US culture, has sketched the the 1950s when the concept of youth culture and peer influence captured public attention. Part of the impetus came from media reports that a new peer culture had stimulated a rise in juvenile delinquency. Gilbert offers several reasons why the times cultivated this attribution even though the incidence of delinquency had not risen. Parents perceived that social class lines were blurring as their sons and daughters began to take on the music and clothes which were previously associated with tastes of the working class and black culture. At the same time, youths were discovered as a specialized commercial market for music, clothes, and food which became new economic commodities.

Shortly thereafter, Coleman (1961) described the "youth culture" as a potentially separate socializing force from adult society. This work helped shape a powerful image that other social scientists utilized both for research and rhetorical purposes. Almost immediately, studies were designed to see whether teens were influenced more by peers than by parents (see Hartup, 1970). Riesman's (1953) study of American society, The Lonely Crowd, was influential and its notion of conformity fit with the image of youths following one another down paths that were eccentric to adult interests. Meanwhile, divorce rates were rising and observers (e.g., Bronfenbrenner, 1970) warned that youths were likely to fall under the sway

of peers because more of them were growing up without the guidance of both parents.

Bronfenbrenner argued that youthful peers would have no stake in wanting to preserve adult society and, hence, might be open to whichever impulses and values seemed compelling at the time. Events of the day punctuated the point with weekly protests on campuses and public demonstrations in the nation's capital. Studies which showed that most students held moderate rather than extreme value positions (e.g., Haan,et al., 1968), or that anti-war activists came from families whose parents were liberal activists (Kenniston, 1967), tended to get lost in the uproar. For many commentators, "authority" seemed to have waned and youths had taken charge of determining the rules by which their lives were to be guided (see Shorter, 1976).

Psychologists seemed to have taken the side of youths by proposing that it was natural for them to question authority and seek autonomy. Theories, as diverse as Erikson's (1967) and Kohlberg's (1969), emphasized the normality of autonomous functioning as the logical product of youths' ability to use reason in thinking for themselves. A decade of political turmoil, from John Kennedy's assassination to Richard Nixon's impeachment, added to the view that the freshness of youths' ideals countered stale values and helped renew adult society. Braungart (1980) has shown this characterization of youths is one of several made during the present century. The difficulty today is not letting vivid events of the 1960s stand for adolescence as an absolute concept. The several and diverse characterizations of adolescence show how important it is to understand youths in the context of the times. For present purposes the question is whether peer relations are better understood as separate and potentially divisive from relations with parents or as supporting extensions of parental relations.

Parent vs Peer Influence. Hartup (1970) offered a thoughtful review of studies that dealt with the question of whether adolescents are more prone to follow the

advice parents or the suggestions of peers. The assumption behind this work was that parents and peers give different, if not opposite, advice; hence, this literature became known as the study of "counter influences." Until the 1960s, results were mixed as adolescents followed peers for some choices and parents for other choices. Brittain (e.g., 1963) reported that peers were influential regarding social-recreational events parents were influential regarding decisions about colleges and jobs. Berndt (1979) added important evidence that influence of parents and peers varied according to the age of adolescents. Preadolescents tended to follow parents' advice and did not heed peers' suggestions for antisocial actions. At 14- to 15-years, adolescents conformed more with peers than parents, even when peers recommended antisocial actions. At 17- and 18-years, the tendency was to agree with parents and with peers, who had similar and compatible viewpoints and values. A more recent study by Brown, Clasen, and Eicher (1986) virtually replicated Berndt's (1979) findings for age variation. In addition, adolescents perceived more peer pressure for prosocial behavior than to commit antisocial acts. Nevertheless, there was an increase in self-reported misconduct in the middle adolescent years. Not surprisingly, it was correlated with perceived peer pressure for misconduct; adolescents who engaged in misdeeds said that they were persuaded to do so by their peers. However, adolescents did not say that peers in general sponsored misconduct. Rather, peer influence for prosocial actions was more typical (see results for Brittish adolescents; John Coleman, 1980).

Sebald (1986) reported that parent and peer influence may have varied from the 1960s to the present. He reviewed answers to 18 questions that were asked in 1963, 1976, and 1982. Parental advice was more likely sought for financial issues, personal problems, choosing future occupations, and deciding "whether or not to go college." Advice was more likely sought from peers on social events, clubs to join, how to dress, and dating. This division of influence corresponds to Brittain's

differentiation of expertise. Sebald found also that, in the main, girls were parent-oriented in the 1960s while boys were more oriented to peers. By the 1980s, the pattern changed toward greater balance between parents and peers for both sexes. A possible decline in parental influence in the 1976 sample was, reversed in the 1982 sample.

Several authors reported similar results regarding the differentiation of advice-seeking according to topics and persons. There is hardly an exception to the finding that adolescents seek advice from and discuss schooling, jobs, and career plans with their parents (Brittain, 1963; Douvan & Adelson, 1966; Hunter, 1984; Kandel & Lesser, 1972; Youniss & Smollar, 1985). Adolescents also discuss these topics with their peers (Youniss & Smollar, 1985). On the other hand, some topics seem to be targeted to specific persons and withheld from others. For example, males seem to restrict discussion of family problems with other family members while females use a wider range of persons, including friends, for advice on family matters (Youniss & Smollar, 1985). Other topics are restricted in different ways. For example, daughters tend not to discuss personal emotional issues with their fathers whom they see as disinterested, while mothers and close friends are empathically interested and can provide useful advice because they are understanding (Wright & Keple, 1981).

Clearly, an important reorientation has occurred in the literature. Researchers have turned away from the design of pitting parents' against peers' influence because they recognize the issue presumes an unnecessary exclusive disjunction. The division of interests which separates what adolescents talk about with whom is more refined than the "parent vs. peer" model would suggest. Adolescents distribute information about their lives among mothers, fathers, siblings, best friends, boy- and girlfriends, members of peer groups, and other confidants. More importantly, the concept of influence is bereft compared with the concept of

relationship through which ideas are co-constructed via regular interactions. Values and beliefs are not transmitted like electric impulses across telephone lines; they are constructed through discussion and mutual reflections on experience. While the influence model implies one-way transmission of established ideas, relationship entails communication whereby ideas are formulated through interpersonal give-and-take (Meacham, 1985).

A new posture is needed to account for the following items: (1) attitudes are engendered from early childhood through interactions with parents, siblings, and peers; e.g., studies cited above on females' attitudes toward careers. (2) Teenagers don't suddenly accept what they hear as true and morally right because peers, or anyone else, say so. Rather, ideas are talked through and argued out before they are accepted (cf., Grotevant & Cooper, 1986; Zahaykevitch, 1987). (3) Parents and peers do not necessarily view reality in opposite ways with parents upholding societal norms and peers denying a stake in society. Adolescents respect views their parents espouse and seek parents' validation for their views (e.g., Bell & Bell, 1983; Hunter, 1984). (4) The institution of high school sorts youths by interests; consequently, youths seek out peers with values and backgrounds similar to theirs. The classic studies by Lynd and Lynd (1928) on Middletown and by Hollingshead (1948) on Elmtown's Youth are still valid in this regard. Youths segregate themselves in peer groups whose members already share common understandings about society. The burgeoning of private schooling today, implies a conscious choice by parents to promote association among like-minded youths. (5) Parents' ideas are not outdated and so restrictive as to be deter youths' development into intelligent and mature persons. Contemporary parent cohorts are well-educated and able to deal with reflective discussions of their views. The younger generation does not have to give up what their parents believed in order to adapt to society. Riesman (1953), Davis (1940), and Fasick (1985) recognized that parents in the US

generally encouraged their sons and daughters to learn more about society than they, the parents, know and to experience society beyond the limited frame provided by them. Immigrants wanted upward mobility for their children and saw themselves as unable to provide the means from their own experience; thus, they encouraged movement into society beyond the family. The educational level of the parent cohort which was college educated after WWII is high, and these parents have set high standards of achievement which adolescents may not so much exceed as admire (Easterlin, 1985). Fasick (1985) has noted considerable parent-adolescent identification especially in those groups in which successful parents have co-opted youths with their enviable life styles.

In summary, fear of peers and the peer culture may have reached a high point two decades ago when youths appeared to have rejected adult society and set out on a new path which adults "over 30" could not understand. With the distance of time, one can see that this expectation did not come to fruition (Braungart, 1980). Empirical data demonstrate that youths then, as well as today, are tentative about forming whole new political agendas and giving up moral traditions. Youths tend to look on the older generation with respect but not blind awe, taking their parents' ideas as starting points for constructing their own opinions. It is useful to think of adolescence as a time when youths give up some of the ideas they had previously accepted without question as they try better to understand adult society and enter into communication with it. There is discourse between generations and, rather than opposing adults, youths take adults' views seriously and want to understand them.

Peer Groups. The work of Lynd and Lynd as well as Hollingshead point to a glaring gap in the literature. They showed that high school students spent time in and outside school with peers in groups and cliques, composed of adolescents from similar social classes and with similar interests. The groups from different classes

partook of different aspects of the community and manifested differing interests which tended to keep them separate. This finding appears to be historically sturdy as Brown (1982) has shown that contemporary adolescents readily differentiate student groups in their schools according to aptitudes and interests. These groups represent a broad spectrum of values with regard to adult society. In a typical high school observed by Brown, groups included the "brains", the "jocks", the "populars", and the "druggies." Such findings show the weakness of attaching the same connotation of "peer culture" to all groups of peers. Peer pressures from these diverse groups would have different meanings and outcomes with respect to adult norms.

This point has been made forcefully by Hallinan (1980) in her review of empirical work on adolescent friendship cliques. Cliques differed according to class and status variables, while within cliques, there were common values regarding academic performance, dating norms, and future goals. A strong supporting finding is reported in the series of yearly surveys of high school seniors: Monitoring the Future (e.g., Johnston, Bachman, & O'Malley, 1979). Attention is called to the cross-tabulation between two questions: How extensively do you use drugs? and To what degree do your friends approve of drug usage? Students who did not use drugs at all said their friends did not approve of drug use while students who said they used drugs regularly also said their friends approved of drug use. The idea that adolescent peers automatically constitute a homogeneous culture should be carefully modified to account for the variability found among peer groups and cliques.

Savin-Williams (1980) has noted a fundamental need which may lie at the heart of the potential confusion. Few studies have addressed the activities which comprise the daily life of peer groups. Studies tell us about dress, food, and music tastes, but say little about ideas that peers discuss or issues group members think

are important. We know little about group moral codes or how groups deal with violations of rules pertaining either to other members or to outsiders. When adolescent groups were initially studied near the onset of the present century, observers took an insider's perspective which led them to conclude that groups promoted prosocial attitudes and served socialization through fraternization. It was argued, for example, that group identification in the neighborhood provided the rudiments for identification with society, in general, and political parties, in particular (Woods, 1898). Peer grops today may serve the same positive functions by reinforcing values which parents promote. Inherent rules and discipline which group structures demand also are vehicles of socialization. Sociologists have suggested that peer groups, such as teams, provide experience of basic organizational features as role differentiation, cooperation, and rule-guided action (Lever, 1978). Lever also suggested that these characteristics are versions of those prized in work organizations and, in this regard, males who are likely to enter such organizations, have benefited from socialization thorough "team sports."

The involvement of adults in peer groups, such as teams and groups, based on talent, shows that groups are not necessarily cut off from adult society. Parents and other adults are often involved in peer group activities as teachers, coaches, monitors, and tutors. Moreover, parents are often the audience for performances which these groups provide, especially team sports. The image of the peer culture that is sustained by media accounts of uproarious attendees at rock concerts, while valid, tends to overshadow the fact that so much of peer activity is done under the guidance of adults and with adults' interest and awareness. Gillis (1981), Shorter (1976), and Kett (1977) have described the past when peer groups operated with the community's endorsement and watchful monitoring from a distance. Youths and adults recreated together at dances, church socials, weddings, funerals, and other communal rituals. The reconstructions are valuable and may help us recognize that

similar institutional cross-generational groups exist today. Church-based groups, for example, include adults and youths in public activities which give the generations a common ground for interpreting reality.

Friendship. During the past decade, psychologists and sociologists showed appreciation of the nature and importance of friendship in adolescents' development and socialization. An elemental findings is that friendship is distinguishable from peer relations behaviorally and in the minds of adolescents (e.g., Furman & Buhrmester, 1985). Results are consistent whether the data come from direct observations of interactions (cf., Berndt, 1987; Gottman, 1983) or from adolescents' descriptions of the relationship (cf, Bigelow & LaGaipa, 1975; LaGaipa, 1983; Selman, 1980; Smollar & Youniss, 1982; Youniss, 1980; Youniss & Smollar, 1985). Adolescents agree on the rule-like conceptions which constitute friendship in distinction from other relations. The rules specify action expectations which are clearly prosocial in that they lead to social solidarity and intersubjective understanding. These ideas are found in the writings of Piaget (1932) and Harry Stack Sullivan (1953) who argue that friendship provides qualitatively different interpersonal experiences from those with parents.

Three generalizations can be gleaned from the literature: First, adolescent friendships are marked by understanding of reciprocity as a principle rather than simply as a practice. Adolescent friends believe they should treat one another fairly; literal tit-for-tat exchanges are not central because adolescents recognize friends are individuals who differ in assets and weaknesses and, therefore, cannot exchange exact acts. This recognition implies a sophisticated differentiation between equality and equity (e.g., Youniss, 1980). Second, investigators who studied communication within friendship say that it is conducive to the development of procedures of cooperation and common interest. Friends openly discuss issues which matter so that each comes to feel part of the other's intimate reality. Because

these practices extend over the duration of the relationship, friends develop a sense of mutual interest and mutual welfare (see Berndt, 1982; 1987; for reviews). Third, adolescent friends, thus, develop a sense of solidarity which differentiates friends from nonfriends and leads to a mutual respect (e.g., Smollar & Youniss, 1982). Results represent a concrete case of Gouldner's (1960) classic description of the consequences of the practice of reciprocity.

These three aspects of friendship are highlighted in order to provide a counterpoint to the popular notion that adolescents' friendships are ephemeral, self-serving, and rebellious. Empirical evidence does not support that view. Rather, the relationship is typically principled and contains the basic elements of positive socialization. The principles by which adolescents sustain their friendships are those which adults want to instill through their own experience with adolescents.

The topic of adolescent friendship was, until recently, relegated to the categories of frivolous and "for youth only." Recent results, however, lead to a different conclusion that friendship is a major force in social and moral development. Consider the following case of how processes of friendship may transfer to the domain work. Hirschorn (1985) described the workings of the socio-technical factory which is now in operation throughout the US. In the 50 cases of manufacturing he studied, the following characteristics were common: The hierarchical model of management-workers was redesigned so that management and workers made decisions jointly through rule-guided discussions; work rules and discipline were determined by committees of workers which were bounded by standards of profitability and productivity. Workers were committed to the principle of role sharing so that any worker had to learn several roles rather than specializing in one role only; workers were committed to retraining and continuing job education. Decisions about training were made by groups which shared the interest of being rewarded for team performance. One can see that, in this kind of

factory, social skills are not incidental "work" skills, but are central to the production process. The theory is that output is increased and maintained when the workers and management are active participants in a social organization which functions according to principles of cooperation and shared interests. According to Hirschorn, the initial results are positive in terms of such measures as absenteeism, productivity, and participation in evaluation of the process by which goods can be more efficiently manufactured.

Summary. It is time to break out of the model which pictures peers as a specter a la Golding's Lord of the Flies. Peer pressure for agonistic behavior and the youth culture's focus on aberrant values are exaggerations which pale in light of empirical evidence. Adolescents do indeed seek out peers and desire to be recognized by them (Csikzentmihalyi & Larson, 1984). However, this does not necessitate that adolescents turn away from parents and adopt attitudes which run counter to the older generation's values. Riesman (1953) argued some time ago that contemporary parents consider peers as allies in the socialization of their sons and daughters. Not knowing quite what the future holds, parents consciously share their "authority" and socialization function with peers, teachers, and others. A further distinction in the literature is that peers do not constitute one cultural entity or a unity in values. Adolescents themselves differentiate among peer groups and cliques according to interests as well as norms. These differences imply that youths have sorted themselves in terms that reinforce the values of their parents.

Friendship helps youths to articulate the processes which permit interpersonal cooperation and convert reciprocity from a practice to a principle. The relevance for social capital is clear. The egalitarian character of friends' interactions entails the norm of social responsibility to a degree that is rarely realized in youths' relationships with parents. In the recent literature, social scientists have recognized the complementariness and compatibility between the two relations

(Cooper and Ayers-Lopez, 1985; Youniss & Smollar, 1987). Parental authority and peer equality represent two types of structures that apply to different aspects of social functioning. Moreover, from a psychological viewpoint, each relationship develops and the two may begin to reinforce one another during the adolescent period. During adolescence, parental authority begins to be transformed ideas become open for discussion for the purpose of reaching mutual understanding. Simultaneously, friendship is transformed so that intimacy is converted into interpersonal responsibility centered on common good. The discussions that adolescent friends have are no longer just for fun, but serve the role of helping them gain clarification and obtain validation through processes of critical discussion. At this age level, the two relationships begin to merge as each requires that differences between ideas be submitted to processes of discourse rather than be occasions for uncompromising assertions (White, et al., 1983; Youniss & Smollar, 1985).

Conclusions and Policy Implications

Mutuality and Social Capital. If youths are to carry on the worthwhile traditions of our social order, they must be made to feel a part of society and given clear roles in its preservation (Friedenberg, 1965). The literature on divorce shows there are risks to the degree that daughters especially, but sons also, often feel alienated from their fathers who fail to meet the obligations of alimony and child support. Because the social order is often represented by adult males, ill feelings toward fathers constitute a potential problem. However, there is no direct evidence that negative feelings toward divorced fathers generalize to the social order. The compensating factor may be the formation of close relationships with custodial mothers and other kin who provide alternative means for identifying with the work ethic and other cultural values held by adults. Sons appear also to benefit from association with stepfathers while daughters develop positive attitudes

toward career and employment when their custodial mothers work to support the family. Still, the available evidence suggests that adolescent females tend to take up unstable romantic relations with men who are often older and less educated than they. More generally, youths from divorced backgrounds have conservative views on marriage, but do not look forward optimistically to their own marriages or parenthood.

It is not possible at this time to assert clear generalizations about effects of divorce on adolescents' development to adulthood. Not enough is known about disruption of processes because most research has dealt with static variables. Further, divorce is hardly a clear variable in itself. What happens after the event is indeterminate. Some youths live with their mothers in reduced economic circumstances. Others go through a single parent phase, then gain stepparents. Still others experience different sequences which might include intervention from male kin of mothers. Thirdly, several effects are clearly differentiated by sex so that what might be detrimental to sons is beneficial to daughters and vice versa. Lastly, the literature does not cover well social class differences that might indicate deep trends in youths' socialization. The variable of single parent families does not constitute a unity, but needs to be differentiated acording to the structural factors which create types of milieus for development. In some of these settings, social capital is scarce because adults are either not present or uninvolved in youths' lives. In these instances, youths lack a sense of belonging to a social group which transcends themselves and their immediate environment. It is not divorce but the absence of meaningful relationship with adults that generates problems.

A different risk to mutuality is found in the realm of labor if youths are shut out from gainful opportunities for employment. Youths generally lack knowledge about work and the labor market. Additionally, the structure of work is changing and altering available oportunities. The message that youths should seek more

education because it will enhance their career chances, needs to modified. Current projections as to the types of work that will likely be available in the year 2000 imply that the message be given careful texture. As long as service sector positions do not require technical training and are open to many applicants, it is difficult to see that they can fulfill the economic needs of young adults. On the other hand, there will be need for technically skilled personnel, and, therefore, new career opportunities will be open to females and minorities. However, to take advantage of technical openings, youths will have to reorient to an educational regimen that emphasizes mathematics and science courses from the early grades onward. Parents have confronted problems regarding employment of their offspring since industrialization and come up with innovative solutions that have effectively made use of opportunities that were not initially obvious. This was the case at the start of the manufacturing revolution in England (Smelser, 1959) as well as during the growth of industrialization in the US (Sennett, 1974). As long as parents and youths remain closely allied in feelings and interests, abandonment of parental responsibility will be unlikely prospect. When communication between parents and youths is continuous and close, males tend to show successful work patterns which have persist through early adulthood (Mortimer, et al., 1986). Fathers' attitudes toward work can influence career aspirations of daughters as well as sons. Mothers' attitudes are also influential especially for daughters. In brief, with the nature of work and employment undergoing a structural transformation, the family takes on historic significance as it may help youths meet challenges with creative reactions. Parents can be mediators whose experience serves youths in adusting to a social structure that is not easy to comprehend.

The literature pertaining to peer relationships was reviewed to answer the question whether they counter or extend the social capital gained through parental relationships. In general, peer relationships seem to extend and reinforce norms

and values which parents establish. Peers may add to mutuality between generations insofar as they supplement through peer activities the shared understandings with the older generation. While topical boundaries separate adults and peers, interests are shared between the generations and each shows concern for the other's welfare. A focus on outward appearances of musical tastes or clothes detracts from youths' desire to participate in adult society and the respect they generally have for its major proponents, beginning with their parents. Peer relationships among youths have been saddled with ideological outlooks that impose characteristics from the outside without an accompanying internal understanding. Recent studies have documented quite clearly that peer relationships are not inherently anti-societal and that friendship is highly principled. They support adult socialization but uniquely through the reciprocal nature of peer interactions. In general, these relationships supplement the capital producing function of parental relationships while adding another source of capital in the form processes of co-construction which promote peer solidarity. These processes, further, are tools for transforming relationships with parents as well as for creating new norms in socially responsible ways.

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A COMMENTARY

on **James Youniss'**

Mutuality in Parent-Adolescent Relationships: Social Capital for Impending Adulthood

by **Ann C. Crouter**

As James Youniss's thorough review paper points out, parents today face the challenge of preparing adolescents to take adult roles in a society that is undergoing rapid social change. Technological developments, changes in the global economy, the shifting size of the labor force, and changing societal norms about the importance of certain occupational fields, for example, can mean that the job landscape for young adults is quite different from one decade to the next. Moreover, the transition to adulthood involves more than simply entering the work force on a full-time basis. Becoming an adult also means completing education, establishing an independent living arrangement, becoming intimate with another person, and, eventually, becoming a parent--transition events that often occur over a rather long period of time and in a variety of sequences.

Given the complexity of the transition to adulthood in contemporary society, what can parents do to promote their children's eventual success? What role does the parent-child relationship play in helping young people negotiate these very uncertain times?

Youniss suggests that parents offer young people "access to norms and social understandings which adult members of society share", cognitions which presumably will help youth develop aspirations and make decisions that will lead to their successful entry into adult roles. According to Youniss, young people acquire these ideas, or "social capital", at least in part through emotional closeness with parents, communication about important issues with parents, and parental enforcement of

norms.

I do not quarrel with the notion of the importance of "social capital". While Youniss's discussion of "social capital" is "grounded in studies of parent-adolescent relationships in middle SES, well-functioning families" (p.1), however, my commentary attempts to complement this picture with studies on youth and families in less advantaged circumstances, using teenage pregnancy as an illustration. Moreover, I build upon Youniss's discussion by exploring the differing conditions under which parents are able to offer social capital to their youngsters. Parents, by virtue of their particular niche in American society, transmit <u>different</u> norms and social understandings to their children. Indeed, it is difficult for parents to prepare their young for a world to which parents have no access. Given the thrust of these remarks, my conclusions about policy directions emphasize the utility of transforming <u>parents'</u> opportunities in ways that change their conceptions of their children's possible futures.

One of the ways in which parents, regardless of circumstances, can promote their child's life chances involves the timing of adult roles, specifically implementing strategies that prevent the child from prematurely taking on adult responsibilities. One example is teenage pregnancy, a life event that can have enduring, negative repercussions for the lives of young women (Hogan and Kitagawa, 1985). Although evidence suggests that adolescent mothers vary tremendously in their ability to cope with this early adult role transition, there is general consensus that "adolescent mothers do not do as well in later life as women who postpone parenthood" (Furstenberg, Brooks-Gunn, & Morgan, 1987, p. 145). What role does the parent-child relationship play in preventing adolescent pregnancy or, in the event of pregnancy, in assisting the teenager to cope with this life event?

A review of the available research indicates that the all three aspects of the

parent-child relationship that Youniss identifies--emotional closeness, discursive communication, and enforcement of norms--are certainly important. I focus here, however, only on the latter two, communication and enforcement of norms, because they both involve the transmission of content: the parent sharing his or her view of the world with the child.

The notion of "discursive communication" between parent and child appears to be important in the domain of teenage sexuality. In a review of the literature on the family's role in adolescent sexual behavior, Fox (1981) noted that "communication, however minimal or inaccurate," is associated with the tendency for the daughter to postpone initiation into sexual activity and, once active, to choose a more effective means of contraception. Available studies indicate that if teenagers talk over matters involving sexuality with a parent, it is generally with their mother rather than father and that such discussions are more likely to happen, not surprisingly, in the context of a close mother-daughter relationship (Fox, 1981).

Hogan and Kitagawa (1985), in an analysis of a random sample of over 1,000 black adolescent girls in Chicago, emphasized the role of parental monitoring--enforcement of norms--in the etiology of adolescent childbearing. They reported that "parents significantly reduce the likelihood that their daughters will become pregnant by carefully supervising who they date, where they go, and their arrival time back home" (p. 846). Similarly, Jessor and Jessor (1974) found that the more mothers supervised their teenage offspring's behavior, through such practices as setting a curfew, supervising homework, and monitoring use of leisure time, the less likely the child was to exhibit "problem behavior", an index which included sexual behavior.

But what determines how likely a parent is to discuss serious matters with his or her child or to supervise that child's activities? More importantly, what shapes

the content of those discussions and the kinds of norms that are enforced? Youniss identifies two important ecological influences on parenting. The first is divorce, a process which can profoundly alter the family environment in terms of economic resources, roles, and relationships. The second influence Youniss describes involves the relationship of the family to the world of work, including the ways in which the entrance of mothers into the work force has altered the mechanisms through which youth learn about work. Youniss's discussion of both divorce and work, however, focuses primarily on middle-class families. This focus, dictated in part by the state of the field, implies that the message underlying parental communication and norm enforcement is a rather uniform one, that parents generally share the same vision of success, that they view the environment through the same lens. A broader look at the environment suggests that this is not so.

Ogbu (1981) argues that childrearing techniques, including communication and enforcement of norms, stem in part from parents' "native theories of success", their understanding of what it takes to be successful in their own environment, given the opportunities available to them. Ogbu elaborates that "ghetto blacks ...acquire different rules of behavior for achievement and related competencies because such is the requirement for their competence in adult cultural/subsistence tasks and not merely because ghetto parents lack white middle-class capabilities in child rearing" (1981, p. 425). Here Ogbu echoes Kohn who, in Class and Conformity, maintained that "members of different social classes, by virtue of enjoying (or suffering) different conditions of life, come to see the world differently- to develop different conceptions of social reality, different aspirations and hopes and fears...(1977, p.7).

That social class is more than a state of mind is clearly illustrated by Hogan and Kitagawa in their study of Chicago teenagers discussed earlier. They explain that parental supervision does not stem merely from attitudes and beliefs, but also

from the opportunities and constraints in the immediate neighborhood environment. Hence, supervising teenagers is substantially more difficult in economically disadvantaged neighborhoods which "...have large numbers of teenagers relative to the number of adults...lack supervised play areas...(have) poor neighborhood schools (which) may discourage academic achievement ...and very visible 'street life'...thought to increase exposure to, and increase a willingness to engage in, behavior that is nonnormative from the viewpoint of the outside society" (Hogan and Kitagawa, 1985, p.831).

There is more to the story, thankfully, than ethnicity social class, and neighborhood, or social mobility would be even more restricted than is currently the case. Other research indicates the importance of parental education. Furstenberg, Brooks-Gunn, and Morgan (1987), for example, traced the life course consequences of adolescent pregnancy for a sample of Baltimore teenagers some seventeen years after these women became pregnant with their first child. Most of these adolescent girls came from poor, black families in which parents did not complete high school. Furstenberg et al. note, however, that if a girl's parents had both completed at least the tenth grade, she was significantly less likely to be on welfare seventeen years after becoming pregnant as a teenager. Calling parental education "the most potent legacy from the family of origin" (p. 137), Furstenberg and his colleagues elaborate that education, in this analysis, probably stands for a host of "cognitive, motivational, and resource factors", including drive and social skills, that enabled these parents to support daughters, particularly in their educational endeavors.

Parents' cognitions and motivations can also develop through work experiences. Kohn and Schooler (1982) point to "occupational self-direction"--or the opportunity to be independent on the job, as a feature of work that has long-term implications for adults' personality development, including their ideational flexibility. Heath

(1977) suggests that jobs which require employees to interact with other people encourage "allocentrism", the ability to take the perspectives of others, a developmental outcome that presumably has positive implications for the parent-child relationship. This theme is echoed in some of my own research in an industrial setting with a management structure that encouraged participative decision-making in blue-collar, semi- autonomous work teams. Workers described themselves generalizing the listening, role-taking, and decision-making skills fostered at work to their family relationships. As one respondent explained, "After all, a family is kind of like a team" (Crouter, 1984, p. 80).

Further evidence that autonomy at work matters, not only to the workers themselves but to their offspring, can be found in a suggestive, cross-sectional study of low-income minority women and their school-aged children. Piotrkowski and Katz (1982) explored the interrelationships between maternal job autonomy and children's academic behavior, finding that the more self-direction mothers had on the job, the less likely children were to be absent from school and the better children performed at mathematics. This pattern of results is particularly meaningful in the context of adolescent pregnancy. Teenage girls are less likely to become pregnant if they are performing well in school (Rindfuss, St. John, and Bumpass, 1984). Moreover, for those who do become mothers as adolescents, staying in school is associated with economic independence and security later on in adulthood (Furstenberg et al., 1987).

To summarize, whether one chooses to focus on the transition of youth to adult work roles, as Youniss chose to do, or the timing of the transition to parenthood, as I have touched upon here, it is clear that the content of parental socialization depends in part upon the parent's access to society's resources. For, as Ogbu (1981) explains, parents' visions for their children are shaped in part by the

surrounding sub-culture. This immediate environment indicates what roles are available for adults and which skills are needed to achieve access to these roles.

One implication of this line of reasoning is that policy considerations concerning "Youth and America's Future" should focus on parents as well as youth. The obvious place to begin is to improve job opportunities for adults, particularly in poor neighborhoods. As Ogbu indicates, to be effective this kind of intervention would have to be dramatic enough, and of such persistent duration, as to transform parents' views of what is possible for their children. Jobs programs that are under-funded, spotty in terms of availability, short-term, and involve "make work" will not be sufficient in this regard and may even be detrimental if they invoke further demoralization of adults in a community.

In addition to providing job opportunities, attention should be taken to the kinds of work that is available. A theme of this review is that job autonomy, work that permits the employee to think and to use skills, should be encouraged in all lines of work, particularly blue-collar work. Moreover, to enhance the possibility that the workplace serve as a context for adult development, work settings should be used in innovative ways as sites for adult education. Communities and work organizations also need to remember that parenting is not over when children enter school. Some work organizations have responded to the influx of mothers into the work force with policies such as parental leave and subsidized child care. Work organizations should also be encouraged to be supportive of parents of school-aged children and adolescents, recognizing the importance, for example, of supervision by providing time off to attend school conferences and flexible scheduling for parents needing to be home at certain times.

These suggestions call for a policy framework that recognizes the essential linkages between the well-being of various members of the generations. Nowhere is

the utility of this perspective more clear than with adolescent pregnancy. There is now sufficient research to document that the resources of the parents of teenage girls are important influences on preventing pregnancy as well as successfully coping with parenthood. Moreover, the teenager's own success at coping with this early transition to adult responsibilities has dramatic consequences for the social-psychological development of her child (Furstenberg et al., 1987). To be effective at meeting the needs of youth making the transition to adulthood we need to remember that their welfare is enhanced by the well-being of generations above and below.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

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A COMMENTARY

on **James Youniss's**

MUTUALITY IN PARENT-ADOLESCENT RELATIONSHIPS: SOCIAL CAPITAL FOR IMPENDING ADULTHOOD*

by **John H. Lewko**

In his insightful examination of the American economy and the future, Robert Reich (1983) argued for directing greater attention towards the development of the human resource base of America: "Our future wealth lies in our human capital." (1983, p. 20) In the course of integrating a diverse literature on adolescent relationships, divorce, and adolescent career development, Jim Youniss has constructed a paradigm which researchers and policymakers could use in responding to Reich's imperative. While Youniss acknowledges that careful tutoring of our youth through the vehicle of personal relationships is not entirely original, his development of the concept is indeed unique.

The major strength of this piece is the marrying of the concept of "social capital" with the developmental literature on relationships. In presenting the relationship as the vehicle within which information and knowledge is co-constructed and transmitted, Youniss fills an important missing link in the literature on the role played by parents in determining the social and occupational status of their adolescents. Sociological studies of status attainment have focussed primarily on the quantitative aspects of intergenerational transmission or have employed superficial measures of the parent-child relationship, such as parental encouragement, and have not satisfactorily addressed the influence of intrafamilial

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* I wish to thank Geoffrey Tesson and Carol Hein whose reactions to my analysis of Youniss' work influenced the final product in a more sociological direction.

dynamics. Kohn's (1977) study of parental values in the exercise of authority and Bernsteins's (1973) study of the role of linguistic code structures still stand as landmark attempts to fill this gap, but are nevertheless seriously limited in their scope.

Youniss' point of departure is the dynamic of the actual parent-adolescent relationship. This represents a significant advance because, in focussing on the parent-adolescent relationship as the primary channel of social transmission, it raises the issue of how the quality of the relationship affects both what is transmitted and the effectiveness of parental influences. What Youniss adds is a rich understanding of the various dimensions of adolescent-adult relations, which have a bearing on subsequent social placement. As such, his work offers the promise of putting some real flesh on the bare bones of Coleman's "social capital" theory (1987).

Adolescent Relationships

The literature review on characteristics of the parent-adolescent relationship provides convincing evidence that this relationship is the vehicle best suited for the transmission of ideas and knowledge, key aspects of social capital. Lending further support to the argument, Piotrkowski and Stark (1987) found that males and females 10 to 17 years of age believed that important information was being transmitted to them when their father talked about work. The subjects were also quite accurate about how their parents felt about work, indicating the degree of closeness of the parent-adolescent relationship.

Given the originality of the relational/social capital perspective, it is not surprising that empirical studies, which document the process and content being transmitted, are lacking. Of the research cited by Youniss, the works of Kohn (1977) and Mortimer, Lorence and Kumka (1986) provide the strongest support for

relational effects, yet leave unanswered questions as to the actual content of the relational encounter. The recent work of Young and Friesen (1988) brings our understanding of the relational process one step further by identifying actual parental actions undertaken to influence the career development of adolescents. In interviews, parents identified the various actions or strategies they used to influence their child's career pathway. Of the ten categories of activities derived from the interviews with parents, eight were consistent with the relational/social capital concept proposed by Youniss: acquisition of specific values and beliefs, increasing independent thinking and action, facilitation of parent-child relationships, decreasing sex-role stereotyping, skill acquisition including interpersonal skills, facilitation of human relationships, encouragement of character development and development of personal responsibility. By placing these results and those from Kohn, Mortimer et al. in a relational framework, more definitive research on the social capital-producing nature of the adolescent-parent relationship should be possible.

Youniss also extends his thinking to include an additional source of social capital which has received little attention from researchers in the past: the peer relationship. In doing so, he moves beyond Coleman's (1987) position and renders the relational/social capital paradigm more powerful. While the evidence presented regarding the potential of peer relationships to generate social capital is more tentative than that provided for the adolescent-adult relationship, the basic characteristics of peer relationships are sufficiently clear to warrant further investigations into their content. Although Youniss argues for the direct effect of peer relationships, a second, indirect source of social capital should be considered. Social capital can derive from parents of peers via the peer relationship. The potential for such transmission has been recently documented by a group of

researchers at the Centre for Research in Human Development at Laurentian University in a current project on adolescent career awareness (C.A. Hein & G.E. Tesson, personal communication, February 5, 1988). Interview data from adolescents revealed that friends are considered a valuable source of information regarding careers and the labour market. As one 15-year old indicated, "friends open the door to their own parents and teachers - something they learn from their parents or teachers will pass on to you." Given the primacy of the adolescent-parent relationship, the indirect effect of peer relationships merits careful consideration.

The importance of adopting a relational approach towards social capital formation is further reinforced by the research which demonstrates that parental work is associated with time loss in parent-child relationships (Kammerman & Hayes, 1982). Of particular concern is the limited evidence that work absorbs physical and mental energy of the parent, resulting in a loss to the child or adolescent (Kanter, 1977) and that job stress and other work variables create an 'energy deficit' and 'spill over' to the family, impacting on the quality of relationships (Piotrkowski, 1979).

Divorce

The review of literature on the impact of divorce on adolescents from a relational perspective is a significant contribution to the field. Youniss presents the research describing both the immediate and long term carry-over of divorce on children and adolescents. If one accepts the relational perspective, then significant numbers of young people may be entering the labour market at somewhat of a disadvantage due to the loss of social capital as a consequence of their disrupted family life.

The current framework is notable given the limited treatment that family structure and stability (i.e. divorce) receive in the research on families and work

(Kamerman & Hayes, 1982). While the economic effects of divorce are well documented (see Youniss, this volume), as are the social class effects on status attainment, the two have not been directly linked. Loss of financial resources could well bump the individuals residing in a mother-headed household into a different class structure: from middle class to working class; from working class to poverty. The impact of such a transformation on value formation, orientation towards school and work, etc., has not been sufficiently considered.

Two additional points emerge from the review of the divorce literature. It is evident that divorce and remarriage impact differently on sons and daughters and these effects require careful scrutiny. This theme reappears in the review of research on career development. Notably absent from that review is the impact of divorce on adolescent entry to the labour market. Even the relatively well-trodden area of adolescent occupational aspirations and expectations is devoid of studies which give serious consideration to the potential effects of family disruption. The second point is addressed more directly by Youniss and needs only to be reinforced. Age of child at the time of divorce could be a critical variable in assessing potential loss of social capital, particularly as divorce may impact on career development. Youniss cites several authors who located the origin of career development in childhood, which must be taken into account with studies of adolescents.

The relational/social capital/divorce paradigm is sufficiently compelling that it may prove fruitful to extend Youniss' reasoning to include other levels of relational disruption. For example, alcoholism and physical or sexual abuse carry with them the transformation of the parent-adolescent relationship and the potential for loss of social capital. Extending the impact of disrupted relationships to the level of peers provides an additional degree of complexity to be accounted for. By

employing the relational framework, Youniss provides researchers with the mechanism to integrate the investigations on relational disruption rather than treating each type as unique and separate. There is a common element of concern for young people in America today -- disruption of parent/adolescent relations--which could carry over to a loss of social capital or transmission of counterproductive social capital for adulthood. How such disrupted relationships affect the transition to work has yet to be determined.

Career Development and the Labour Market

While the focus of Youniss' review is, of necessity, limited to the adolescent age span, developmentalists are fully cognizant of the fact that earlier parent/child relationships will also have to be considered in any research efforts. This is particularly true with respect to career development issues where it is acknowledged that the process begins in childhood (see Gottfredson, 1981 for an attempt to place occupational aspirations in a developmental framework). Youniss, in fact, acknowledges this by noting that "the opening to careers in technical fields occurs at about the seventh grade when choices are made about courses in mathematics and sciences." (p. 43). Thus, earlier experiences are understood to influence outcomes in adolescence and adulthood.

When the concepts of social capital formation and career development are approached from this larger time perspective, labour market adjustment due to technology is not the only structural change Youniss should address. School processes should also be given consideration, in particular the structural constraint of ability groups and curriculum tracking (Eder, 1981; Kerckhoff, 1986). Sociologists clearly demonstrate that the link between educational and occupational attainment is directly related to a student's curriculum track placement during high school (Kerckhoff & Jackson, 1982). Initial placement in college preparatory versus

vocational or 'general' tracks leads to significantly different opportunities in the labour market. Track differences have also been noted in the area of attitudes towards new technology; lower track adolescents held the view that mastering new technology was a waste of time and energy (Lewko & Whissell, 1987).

Initial placement in a curriculum track is often perceived as a collaborative process between parents and school; however, it is now accepted that a class bias exists, with greater likelihood of middle class children being allocated to higher streams or tracks (Porter, Porter & Blishen, 1982). For example, Baker and Stevenson (1987) demonstrated social class differences in strategies that mothers used in influencing the initial high school placement of their grade eight child. It would be reasonable to extend the relational/social capital paradigm to this situation and consider the possibility that children and adolescents may be privy to markedly different social capital transmission due to their social class. Such a position is consistent with Kohn's (1981) thesis that social class membership is transmitted intergenerationally through parent-child relations and child rearing practices. At present, the social capital transmitted within working class parent/adolescent relationships is less functional for the management of the educational process than is the social capital transmitted in middle class families (Lareau, 1987; Porter, Porter & Blishen, 1982).

Part-time work has received considerable attention over the past two decades, and it is now well documented that America's youth commit significant portions of their weekly time to paid employment ("Sweet 16," 1988; Greenberger & Steinberg, 1986). Youniss' review of work experience would benefit from a discussion of the way in which intensity of participation in the labour force might compromise adolescent relationships with parents or peers. Greenberger and Steinberg indicated that one in four sophomores and over one-half of the seniors work the equivalent

of half-time jobs. By translating the time commitment demanded of part-time work, it becomes evident that a limit may be placed on the number and length of relational encounters that might occur between parent and teen or between friends, particularly as the structure of teen jobs capitalizes on irregularity of hours or shift work and typically involves week-end work. Piotrkowski and Stark (1987) reported that insufficient contact with parents was listed by both sons and daughters as one thing they least liked about each parent's job. Given the rise of dual income families, as well as employed single parents, it is also possible that large numbers of working teens are in households where parent-adolescent work schedules function to further distance the teens from relational exchanges, hence the transmission of social capital. It is interesting to note that researchers of part-time work effects have virtually ignored the variable of family composition in their work. The relational/social capital paradigm provides a reasonable rationale for including this variable in future studies on adolescents and the work/career area.

The true contribution of the relational/social capital paradigm rests with its potential for enhancing our understanding of how relationships facilitate the transition of young people to a rapidly changing labour market. Youniss captures the flavour of the discussions being undertaken in America and elsewhere (cf. Burke & Rumberger, 1987) regarding the dramatic shifts that have and will continue to take place in the American workforce as we move towards a global economy. Concepts such as 'jobless growth,' 'deskilling,' and labour market polarization reflect the complexity of information which parents must confront if they are to provide their offspring with functional social capital.

Youniss underscores the importance of the family in general and parents in particular as 'mediators' of labour market uncertainty. In doing so, he presents the

parent/adolescent relationship as a buffer in adolescent's efforts to cope with the labour market. Helping our young people to manage uncertainty, hence change, then becomes an interesting facet of social capital formation within the purview of parents. Such an approach would carry policy implications regarding parent/school relationships, given the need for both parents and teens to become better informed about the labour market.

In reinforcing the salience of parents, Youniss also raises a further policy issue, which may require a re-examination of the school structure. Adolescents from disrupted family relationships may be at risk for loss of relevant social capital. As Youniss states "it is not divorce but the absence of meaningful relationships with adults that generates problems." In order to assure continuity in transmission of social capital, some alternate forms of transmission must be considered. Given the temporal structure of school systems, it is logical that they be directly involved in meeting this challenge.

While it may be tempting to view the problem of adolescent transition to the labour market as essentially class-related, the current thinking on polarization would suggest the need to qualify this approach (Burke & Rumberger, 1987). Labour market polarization is linked to the process of deskilling, where jobs are broken down so that lower trained personnel or machines can be used to perform the tasks. This has been occurring and is predicted to continue at all levels of occupations (Shaiken, 1986). Of particular concern for the current discussion is the observation by Cordell (1986) that we may be faced with a labour market where deskilling has wiped out "the intermediate skill range which is vital for both the reality and perception of upward mobility." (p. 10) Such a trend is reinforced by a recent discussion in The Economist of future prospects for middle managers in the American corporate ranks ("Middle Managers," 1988). Given the social class-

curriculum track-occupational attainment linkage discussed previously, it is evident that the middle class would be directly affected. Emerging from this situation is the need to give serious consideration to a restructuring of the educational system through the elimination of curriculum tracking, as recommended in the report on high schools by the Carnegie Foundation (Boyer, 1983) and as recently committed to by the Minister of Education for the Province of Ontario, Canada.

In closing this review of Youniss' work, it is perhaps worth noting that there may be an intrinsic danger in all studies of the socialization of occupational status of implicitly assuming that a successful outcome is one that necessarily involves either upward intergenerational social mobility or, at least, an absence of downward mobility. Even the term 'social capital' itself carries with it the implication that the real goal of socialization is 'capital maximization.' And, yet, if current depictions of the future of the labour market are to be believed, then downward mobility could become the rule rather than the exception. This may lead us to qualify what we define as a successful outcome. It may be that we will have to at least consider that a smooth adaptation to the possibility of reduced circumstances may constitute as much a 'success' as winning an intensified struggle for a shrinking number of privileged positions. And if so, the value of an approach which focuses on the quality of the social relationships involved rather than on mere material success would be further enhanced.

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